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CARLO G. CERETI

THE ZAND Ī WAHMAN YASN
A ZOROASTRIAN APOCALYPSE



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PREFACE

The wide interest aroused by the flaring debate over the genesis of the apocalyptic genre, and over the rôle played by Iranian traditions in this context, has led to the need for a new and more complete edition of the most important Iranian text on the subject: the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*.

Quite clearly other important Pahlavi texts on the same subject need to be studied in order to carry out a detailed analysis of the Iranian apocalyptic imagery as it was represented in the late Sasanian and early Islamic period. This research will enable scholars, both Iranists and historians of religion, to better evaluate the different layers which illustrate the development of Iranian apocalyptic.

At the present stage of the research no definitive conclusions about the date of Iranian apocalyptic can be drawn, but the general impression is that, while apocalyptic itself might well be a secondary product, Iranian eschatology, and the myths therein contained, date back to a very old period.

The present is meant to be the first of a series of studies on Iranian apocalyptic, bearing both on the texts themselves and on the relationship between the Iranian "Kulturkreis" and other cultural traditions, which belong both to the classical world and to later ages.

This work is a revised and enlarged version of the text submitted for the "Dottorato in Studi Iranici" in June 1992. In the following years some of my best efforts have been spent in the study of the geographical and historical context of Iranian apocalyptic literature. However, not all problems have as yet been solved. Some of those which remain open may be debated endlessly unless new evidence is provided. Many efforts must still be devoted to the study of Zoroastrian apocalypses and to their relationship both with one another and with other cultural traditions, before a definitive pattern of its development can be established.

I am very grateful to Prof. D.N. MacKenzie who, throughout the various stages of this edition, has kindly suggested numerous valuable interpretations. To my teacher,

Prof. G. Gnoli, who has always generously given his advice and encouragement, I would like to express all my thankfulness for the many hours that he has devoted to me and my research.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the Royal Library of Copenhagen for the permission to publish parts of the codices K20, K20b and K43 and to the Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies of Teheran for codex DH, previously published by the Iranian Culture Foundation.

Finally I wish to thank the IsMEO for the opportunity to publish this text in its prestigious "Serie Orientale Roma".

INTRODUCTION

Zand ī Wahman Yasn is the conventional name of one of the most intriguing and original works in Pahlavi literature. It is a work that poses several problems both regarding the date of its final version and the dating of the various layers of tradition included in it. Being the foremost Iranian attestation of a genre that was widely diffused throughout various cultural traditions of the ancient and late classical Near East, the establishment of its date of composition, and of the relationship between different themes found in it and similar themes present in other apocalyptic works, play a central rôle in the understanding of the evolution of this genre. Many scholars, and not only Iranists, have devoted their attention to this text. Some, who date its original version, or the material it contains, to the period that immediately followed Alexander's victorious sweep through Asia, or even earlier, consider the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* to be the proof of the primacy of Iranian apocalyptic over other traditions. Others, who date this text to the late Sasanian period, or even later, believe that it is a late specimen of the apocalyptic genre. In the following pages we shall see how the discussion is heated even today.

The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is, without any doubt, the most complete representative of the apocalyptic genre among Zoroastrian works belonging to late antiquity. Other such texts exist, both as parts of more complex works or as independent writings, but they are either shorter or not preserved in their entirety in the original version. The language of this text, except for the few passages which might be taken from an original Pahlavi *zand*, is reasonably fluent, to the extent that, in some passages, it might even be described as "literary". Several passages show grammatical and syntactical peculiarities which reveal a language well on its way to the New Persian stage.

The manuscript tradition, though, as too often in such cases, not without the occasional error, is on the whole quite good. A considerable wealth of historical or pseudo-historical material is contained in our text, which shows, in my opinion, a sufficient knowledge of the late Sasanian and early Islamic geographical and historical environment. Without doubt the compiler of the final version of this work must have lived in Islamic times. Neither the existence of a previous version nor the extent of its similarity with the present work are easy to determine. As with other apocalyptic works, our text must have been conceived in a period when the identity of the community was menaced and when poor material conditions gave rise to the hope for a better future for the faithful. With some simplification one can state that there have been two periods of this sort in the long history of the Mazdean religion: the one following the victorious sweep of Alexander through Asia, with the deep changes brought about by Hellenism, and the one which followed the fall of the Sasanian empire, when Islam established itself as the predominant religion in a vast area of the world. It is to one of these that our text must be ascribed. From a methodological point of view it is quite important to establish that the redaction of the present version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* does not necessarily belong to the early period of the circulation of apocalyptic ideas in the Iranian world. Rather the text reveals the presence of various layers of tradition.

MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscript tradition of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* consists of various codices, four of which will be taken into account in the present edition. Though two independent traditions can be distinguished, all manuscripts present noteworthy variants. The two main traditions are best represented by the only two complete manuscripts: K20 and DH. K20b, of which only a few lines are preserved, belongs to the branch of K20 and, from what little that can be surmised, has a common ancestor with this manuscript. K43 was probably copied from a very near relative of DH and presents a number of interesting variants. Some readings of K43 improve on DH, but it is not always easy to determine if this is to be ascribed to a better original text or if it is due to the personal learning of the scribe.

K20

K20¹ is a manuscript preserved in the Copenhagen collection and is part of the original nucleus acquired by Rasmus Rask during his trip to the east in 1816-23.

According to the description by Haug and West: "K20 is also a very old codex (...) but is not so well preserved; several folios being lost and many others torn and much worn"². The MS consists of 173 folios in octavo written twenty lines to the page and contains, among other texts, the *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag*, the *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān*, the *Šāyist nē Šāyist*, the *Frahang ī Oīm* and the *Indian Bundahišn*. The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* goes from folio 129v line 3 to folio 143r line 3. The codex contains three colophons dated to 690, 720 and 700 A.Y. (1321, 1351 e 1331 CE respectively). From the state of preservation of the paper we can determine that the MS cannot be much later than 1351 CE, date of its latest colophon. Moreover, according to Christensen, there is reason to believe that it was compiled before 766 A.Y. (1397 CE).

Three manuscripts depending on K20 are known. One, K21, was written towards the end of the 18th century and is now preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. The second, Suppl. Persan 33, housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, was written by "Kāūs Frēdūn" in 1737 CE. Both these codices are recent and most probably copied when the original was already in today's damaged condition and, as a consequence, do not offer variant readings of any interest. The third manuscript depending on K20 is contained in codex M13 preserved in the K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München. It will not be used in the present edition because it is a copy of Suppl. Persan 33 written by Müller.

K20b

The manuscript K20b³, acquired like K20 by Rask, does not depend on K20, though belonging to the same branch of tradition. It contains one folio that can be dated to the first half of the 14th century and twenty other folios that belong to the 16th or 17th century. Probably the more ancient folio is the only survivor of the codex from which the remaining twenty were copied. Unfortunately only a few lines of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* survive in this copy. The calligraphy is very rough, but, nonetheless, the few surviving lines suggest that K20b must

¹ The manuscript K20 is described in detail by Christensen (1931a) and in Haug-West 1872, pp. v-vii.

² Haug-West 1872, p. v.

³ On which see Christensen 1931a.

have been quite a reliable manuscript. It contains part of the *Indian Bundahišn* and the initial fragment of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. The latter consists of a few lines in folio 20 (r. and v.) which correspond to K20 ff. 129v.3 – 130r.7.

DH

The second complete manuscript of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, well preserved and written in clear and elegant handwriting, is codex DH⁴. It previously belonged to B.T. Anklesaria and is now preserved in the library of the Cama Athornan Institute of Bombay. Today the manuscript consists of 137 folios written twenty one lines to a page. Most unfortunately the first 159 folios of the original text are lost. From evidence contained in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* it can be deduced that DH is about two centuries younger than K20. This is confirmed by the colophons. B.T. Anklesaria translates a colophon which reads: "Completed (...) on the day Dadû (Daē or Dîn), month Khurdad, year 946 twenty years after the Emperor Yazdakart. I, servant of the Faith, Marzpân Faritûn Vahârôm Rûstastam Bûndâr Malkâ-martân Dîn-ayibâr, wrote from the copy of Êrdashîr Vahârâmshât Rûstêm Vabârâmshâ; he wrote from the copy of Spendyât Mazdîn-khvâst of Zâtsparam"⁵. Thus we know that DH was written in 1577 CE and, if we identify the *Zâdsparam* mentioned in the colophon with the same *Zâdsparam* who was the author of the *Zarduxšt Nāmag* and who lived two and a half centuries after *Yazdegard*, we can suppose that the original manuscript from which DH derives is at least 650 years older than the present MS⁶. The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* occupies folios 230v.1 to 241r.1 of DH, which contains, *inter alia*, an incomplete version of the *Iranian Bundahišn*, about one half of the third book of the *Dēnkard* and its entire fifth book.

K43

The fourth and last manuscript which will be employed in the present edition is K43. Presently preserved in the Copenhagen collection, this codex was acquired in Iran by N.L. Westergaard. The manuscript presents three colophons dated respectively: day *Tîr*, month *Ādur*, Parsi Year 936 A.Y.; day *Šahrewar*, month

Ābān 938 A.Y.; day *Gōš*, month *Mîhr* 943 A.Y.⁷. The third colophon is followed by the final part of a long colophon belonging to a copy of the *Dēnkard* written in 1020 CE⁸. These dates show that the copyist of K43 completed the *Bundahišn* in 1587 CE, the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* in 1589 CE and the pages containing the *Dēnkard* in 1594 CE. Thus the redaction of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* must belong, more or less, to the same period. The manuscript, written fifteen lines to a page, is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end. The text of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, incomplete at the end, goes from folio 262r.1 to 275v.7, which corresponds to K20 140r.12. Codex K43 contains the final part of the *Iranian Bundahišn*, the *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, extracts from the third and sixth book of the *Dēnkard* and the beginning of the *Pāzand Jāmāsp Nāmag*.

The existence of the two major branches represented on the one hand by K20 and K20h and, on the other, by DH and K43 cannot be doubted. Such a hypothesis is clearly demonstrated by the alternation between logographic and phonetic renderings of the same term, and by standard alternations present throughout the text. Among these, two are worthy of mention for their consistency. The first is that between *zltwšt* (K20 and K20h) and *zltwhšt* (DH and K43), while the second consists in the different writing adopted for the couple *ŠDYA* - *ŠDYA'n*. Occasionally diverging passages can be seen, such as the one found in *ZWY* 6.4, where K20 reads *m'h gwnk gwnk pyt'k YHWWNyt*, whereas DH and K43 both read *MN gwnk wlyt' PWN gyh'n nyzm W twm t'lykyh YHWWNyt PWN 'sm'n nyš'nk Y gwnk gwnk pyt'k YHWWNyt*. Another passage where K20 and DH differ markedly is *ZWY* 9.5, where DH reads: *mtr' Y pl'hw y'wt' KALA OBYDWNyt OL 'wlšytl Y zltwhšt'n AYK 'wlšytl Y dyn' l'st' wyl'st'l w'ng OBYDWNy OL hwlšyt Y 'lwnd 'sp BRA SGYTWN ME t'lyk AYT' PWN kyšwl Y 'lzh wlvblšn' W wlvclšn' W nym Y hwnyls*, while K20 mentions all the continents reading: *mtr' Y pl'hw ywt KALA OBYDWNyt OL hwlšyt zltwšt'n AYK 'wlšytl Y dyn' l'st' wyl'st'l w'ng OBYDWN OL hwlšyt Y 'lwnd 'sp AYK BRA SGYTWN ME t'lyk AYT PWN kyšwl Y 'lc'h W sw'h W pldtpšh wydtpš W wlbšt W wlvclšp W hwnyls b'myk*.

⁴ For further details see the preface to DH.

⁵ Anklesaria 1956, pp. 3-4 (= Anklesaria 1908, pp. ix-x).

⁶ See Anklesaria 1956, p. 5 (= Anklesaria 1908, p. xi).

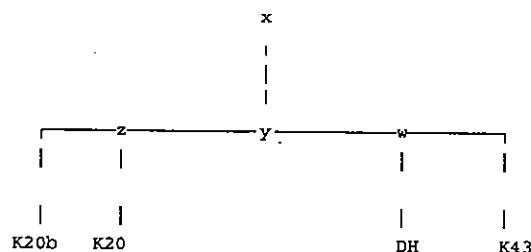
⁷ All these three dates must be calculated according to the traditional calendar beginning in the year twenty of *Yazdegard*. It is well known that the Zoroastrians in Islamic times knew two different systems of dating, one starting with the coronation of *Yazdegard* and one with the year of his death.

⁸ See Christensen 1936.

The independence of K43 from DH is shown by several passages among which the following one, found in ZWY 4.15. DH reads: *mtr' Y AB' BRE bl't' bl't' BRA OZLWNyt W d'm't' MN hwslw ywdt dys BRA YHWWNyt W m'tl MN dwht' ywdt'k ywdt k'mk' BRA YHWWNd*, while K43 has *W mtr' Y AB' MN BRE W bl't MN bl't BRA OZLWNyt W d'm AYT MN hwslw Y ywdtk dys BRA YHWWNyt m'tl MN dwhtl ywdt'k W ywdt k'mk BRA YHWWNd*, a version quite similar to that found in K20: *mtr' AB' [...] BRE W bl't MN AH BRA OZLWNyt d'm't MN hwslw Y ywdt[...] dys BRA YHWWNyt W m'tl MN dwhtl ywdt'k W ywdt k'mk BRA YHWWNd*.

As regards the relation between K20 and K20b one must mainly rely on evidence external to the few preserved lines of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. Within our text very few indicative variants can be noticed. Among these are K20b *wyh dyn'* against K20 *šPYL Y dyn* in the doxology, K20b *AYKm* against K20 *AYK* in ZWY 1.4 and K20b *YHMTWN'yt* against K20 *lsyt'* in ZWY 1.7.

On the basis of these data and of other external information, the following *stemma codicum* of the manuscripts employed in the present edition can be identified with some assurance:



Besides the Pahlavi original of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* there exist both a Pāzand version and a Persian one.

According to West⁹ the Pāzand text was very common among the Parsis, to the extent that he was able to consult two different manuscripts. This version,

⁹ West 1880, p. lvii.

as found in Antia's *Pazend Texts*¹⁰, begins with chapter three of the Pahlavi text and, especially towards the end, seems to be taken from a shorter version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. The spellings used are quite inconsistent, to the extent that, in some passages, the text is almost incomprehensible. On the whole one can easily agree with the words of West, who defined it as "of little use to the reader beyond showing the extremely low ebb to which Pahlavi learning must have fallen, among the Parsis, before such unintelligible writings could have been accepted as Pāzand texts"¹¹. Nonetheless, as we shall see in the Commentary, the Pāzand version presents, here and there, some interesting variants.

The Persian text was probably composed by Rostam Esfandiyyār of Yazd in 1496 CE. As stated in the very first lines it was taken from a Pāzand original. However the text does not correspond to the Pāzand text found in Antia. The text at the beginning of the Persian version corresponds, to a certain extent, to the Pahlavi original, while the final part, more detailed, seems to be taken from a different source, oral or written, which can no longer be identified¹². Several passages of this version can be useful in the interpretation of ambiguous sections of the Pahlavi. Others present variants worthy of note. The Persian text of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* can be found in Unvālā 1922 and its translation in Dhabhar 1932¹³.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The text of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* was edited at the end of the 19th century by K.A. Noshervan¹⁴ in a volume that contains the lithographic reproduction of the codex DH, the transcription in Latin characters and a Gujarati translation. The numbering of the chapters and paragraphs in the lithographic reproductions and, today, also on the margin of codex DH¹⁵, follows the order proposed by E.W. West in his translation, which appeared in 1880 in

¹⁰ Antia 1909, pp. 339-48. See also Unvālā 1957, pp. iii-iv, where further information on the Pāzand version is found.

¹¹ West 1880, p. lvii.

¹² See also West 1880, p. lvii-lviii.

¹³ Unvālā 1922, pp. 86-101 and Dhabhar 1932, pp. 457-81. See also Unvālā 1957, p. iv.

¹⁴ Noshervan 1899.

¹⁵ Possibly this numbering was added to the manuscript by Noshervan himself or, less probably, by West.

the *Sacred Books of the East*¹⁶. Most later editors have adopted this numbering. Some forty years later B.T. Anklesaria, using both codices DH and K20 prepared a critical edition of the text complete with transcription, English translation and a short preface by Unvala. Most unfortunately the great majority of the printed copies were lost, together with the printing type, in the fire that burned down the Fort Printing Press in 1945. Notwithstanding this, in 1957 Anklesaria's work was at last published¹⁷. This author proposed a new division into nine chapters and inserted punctuation marks in the Pahlavi text. In 1961 Widengren translated this text in his *Iranische Geisteswelt*¹⁸. He has also studied this text, along with other Iranian apocalyptic texts, in various other works¹⁹.

In 1944 Sādeq Hedāyat published a Persian edition of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, consisting of the transcription in Persian characters, the translation and the preface²⁰. Recently Mohammad Taqi Rašt Mohassel has edited the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*²¹. This interesting edition containing a preface, includes Persian translation and transcription in Roman characters, both complete with notes, glossary and indexes. It follows Anklesaria's Pahlavi text and division into chapters.

A large number of other scholars have translated various passages from the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* in works of wider scope. Among the many we must mention F. Spiegel²², M. Boyce²³ and, recently, A. Hultgård²⁴.

CONTENTS, LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE TEXT

The present editor has chosen to maintain the division in chapters and paragraphs proposed by Anklesaria. This has been done for the sake of clarity though, in very few occasions, the division in paragraphs is not completely correct.

¹⁶ West 1880, pp. 189-235.

¹⁷ Anklesaria 1957. See Unvala 1957, p.v.

¹⁸ Widengren 1961, pp. 183-95 and 198-208.

¹⁹ Mainly Widengren 1969 and 1983.

²⁰ Hedāyat 1342.

²¹ Mohassel 1370.

²² Spiegel (1860, pp. 128-35) contains the translation of some passages and a résumé of the greater part of the remaining text.

²³ Boyce 1984a, 1984b and 1991.

²⁴ Hultgård 1983 and 1992.

Chapters one and two are superfluous to the narration. Chapter one, which narrates a shorter version of Zoroaster's vision, might belong to a different and possibly earlier recension of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. Here, significantly, within a four epoch scheme, the only Sasanian monarch mentioned is *Husraw*, son of *Kawād*.

Chapter two, briefly describing *Mazdak's* appearance during *Husraw's* reign, bears no obvious relation to the theme of our text. Noteworthy is the fact that the Pāzand version, as given in Antia²⁵, does not include these chapters.

Chapter three depicts a more detailed version of Zoroaster's vision. Here many more details, both relating to the circumstances preceding Zoroaster's "initiativ" dream and to the dream itself, are given. Affinities with the style of the *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag* can be observed in paragraphs 8ff. The epochs listed in this chapter are seven. The first two, those of *Wištāsp* and of the Kayanid *Ardaxšīr* correspond to those of chapter one and so do the last two, those of *Husraw* son of *Kawād* and of the parted hair demons. However, three more epochs are inserted: that of the Sasanian rulers *Ardaxšīr* and *Šābuhr*, that of the Arsacids, and that of *Wahrām Gōr*. Peculiar is the inversion between that of the early Sasanians and that of the Arsacids. The description of *Husraw's* epoch seems to sum up the information about this king given in chapters one and two.

Chapters four to seven represent the core of the narration. Stylistically they follow the *ham-pursagīh* pattern and describe events relative to the end of Zoroaster's millennium.

In chapter four, the longest of the whole text, the many evils which will happen at the end of the millennium are described. Both natural and social atrocities are depicted. Among others, in various passages of this chapter the author describes the downfall of the traditional social order²⁶ and the impossibility to conform to religious rules²⁷. Very important for the understanding of the social context, and for the establishment of the date of this text are paragraphs 58-59 where it is stated that "lordship and sovereignty will go to those of non-*Ērān*ian origins, such as the *Hyōn*, the *Turk*, the *Xadur*, the *Tōbīd*, such as the *Hindūg*, the *Kōfyār*, the *Čīnīg*, the *Kābulīg*, the *Subdīg*, the *Hrōmāyīg*, the *Karmīr Hyōn* and the *Spēd Hyōn*. They will be rulers over these *Ērān*ian lands that I, *Ohrmazd*, have created; their orders and wishes will be

²⁵ Antia 1909, pp. 339-48.

²⁶ Paragraphs 7-8, 33-38 etc.

²⁷ Paragraphs 27-32, 51-53 etc.

current in the world. Authority will go from those with the leather girdle, from the *Tāzīg*, and from the *Hrōmāyīg* to them".

Chapter five is a short but interesting chapter. It compares the merits of the religious rites performed at the end of the millennium with those acquired when performing rituals during the rule of king *Wištāsp*²⁸, and the evil inflicted by the enemies at the end of times with that perpetrated by *Azdahāg* and the *Tūr Frāsyāb*. Already West rightly identified paragraph 11 as a Pahlavi version of the *Yeḡhē Hātām*; recently Sundermann has suggested that it may mark the end of the original text²⁹. However, in my opinion, this is not necessarily true.

Chapter six is focused on the battles which will take place at the end of time. *Hrōmāyīg*, *Turks*, *Karmīr* (*Hyōns*) and *Tāzīg* are all mentioned, though in a confusing manner.

Chapter seven, a long chapter, consists of *Ohrmazd*'s answer to Zoroaster's question: "*Ohrmazd* (...): by what means will it be possible to destroy them if they are in such great number?". It is made up of two distinct parts, the first describing the birth of *Ušēdar*, his conversation with *Ohrmazd*, and the feats of *Wahrām ī Warzāwand* culminating in the final battle against the evil ones³⁰. The second part, introduced by the sentence "At the end of time, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, those enemies will be destroyed" refers, as clearly stated, to the end of the last millennium. In this context the hero *Pišōtan* and the *yazad Mihr* play a predominant rôle and the final battle between good and evil is described³¹. Possibly here the original nucleus of the narration ends.

Chapter eight contains two very short descriptions of the deeds of *Wahrām*³² and of *Pišōtan*³³. Worthy of note is the mention of *Wistaxm* as *mowbedān mowbed*³⁴.

Chapter nine describes events relative to *Ušēdar*³⁵, whose birth is placed in the year sixteen hundred of Zoroaster³⁶, and to the millennium of *Ušēdarmāh*³⁷.

²⁸ Paragraphs 1-5.

²⁹ Sundermann 1988, p. 493; see further the Commentary.

³⁰ Paragraphs 2-15.

³¹ Paragraphs 16-39.

³² Paragraphs 1-5.

³³ Paragraphs 6-8.

³⁴ For which refer to the Commentary.

³⁵ Paragraphs 1-10.

³⁶ Eighteen hundred according to DH. For an explanation of this discrepancy refer to the Commentary.

³⁷ Paragraphs 11-12.

Paragraphs 13 to 23 are dedicated to the description of another myth related to the end of time, that of *Sāmān Keresāsp* and *Azdahāg*. Finally, in paragraph 24, *Sōšāns* is mentioned.

The language is late, though substantially correct. Traces of the late redaction can be observed in many passages. Among them are phonetic spellings such as that of *kl'h* (*kulāh*) instead of *kwl'p* (*kulāf*)³⁸ or *nhng* for *nsng*³⁹. New Persian grammatical features can also be noticed. Such are the use of *rāy* marking the direct object in: *ka stārag ī ohrmazd ul ō *bālist rasēd ud anāhūd rāy frōd abganēd*⁴⁰, the use of *xwēš* as pronoun in: *čē ka šōy xwēš be tuwān bōxtan ēg-iš zan ud frazand ud xwāstag ayād nē bawēd*⁴¹, or the transitional verbal form *dīd ham*⁴².

POSITION OF THE *ZAND I WAHMAN YASN* IN ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE

According to Collins two main types of apocalypses can be recognized in Judaism:

The better known of these might be described as historical apocalypses. (...) In these apocalypses, the revelation is given in allegorical visions, interpreted by an angel. The content is primarily historical and is given in the form of an extended prophecy. History is divided into a set number of periods. The finale may include the national and political restoration of Israel but the emphasis is on the replacement of the present world by one that is radically new. (...) The second type of Jewish apocalypse is the otherworldly journey.⁴³

Apocalypses which present traits of both types are known. Though Collins defines the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* as "A full-blown apocalypse of the historical type"⁴⁴, it would perhaps be better to classify it as belonging to the mixed type. However, it is neither simple nor wholly correct to mechanically transfer notions

³⁸ ZWY 6.3.

³⁹ ZWY 6.10.

⁴⁰ ZWY 7.8.

⁴¹ ZWY 6.11.

⁴² ZWY 3.15.

⁴³ Collins 1987, p. 334.

⁴⁴ Collins 1987, p. 335.

from one cultural context to the other, even when these might belong to a relatively coherent cultural area⁴⁵. Only some Pahlavi texts can be classified, with a certain degree of approximation, as apocalyptic. It is, otherwise, very difficult to draw precise boundaries between the contexts of "apocalypse" and "eschatology" in the Iranian setting. Moreover, due to the paucity of material it may not always be productive to do so. Hence, when dealing with Iranian speculation through the ages, it might be more correct to define it as "apocalyptic eschatology"⁴⁶. However, when analyzing apocalypticism as a historical phenomenon, one must stand by a restrictive definition of apocalypse such as that proposed by Gignoux:

l'apocalyptique est une révélation faite à propos d'événements qui se sont déjà produits, en une période de crise, et présentée à travers des symboles, pouvant s'exprimer aussi sous la forme d'un voyage dans l'au-delà. Mais les doctrines sur la création et l'eschatologie doivent à mon avis en être exclues⁴⁷.

No pre-Islamic specimen of Middle Persian apocalyptic literature has been preserved. The apocalyptic tradition has been preserved only by texts composed well into the Islamic period. However, textual analysis shows that many of the themes belong to the late Sasanian period and some topics can be traced back to the Avestan tradition. Moreover, very little points to a pre-Sasanian elaboration of the Iranian apocalyptic imagery as we know it through Pahlavi texts.

Both the host of passages from different texts which describe the end of time and the strong eschatological strain that pervades Zoroastrian doctrine suggest that apocalyptic literature was a relatively widespread genre in late Sasanian times. Moreover, it is common knowledge that the conditions which favour the rise of apocalyptic literature, such as the feared loss of national identity under the yoke of foreign invaders, has arisen more than once in the millenary religious tradition of Iran.

Texts which seem to express an eschatological conception can be found already in the young Avesta⁴⁸. Among these we can mention, without any pretention to completeness, *Yt* 19, *Yt* 13.129, *Y* 26.10, and *Vd* 19.5. The following

passage of *Yāšt* 19 deserves particular attention as it seems to be a prelude to themes which are characteristic of Middle Persian apocalyptic literature:

(92-3) When Astvaərəta comes out from Lake Kāsaoya, messenger of Mazdā Abura, son of Višpa.taurvairī, brandishing the victorious weapon which ... Kavi Vištāspa bore to avenge Aša (Truth) upon the enemy host, then he will there drive the Drug (Falsehood) out from the world of Aša. (94) He will gaze with eyes of wisdom, he will behold all creation, ... he will gaze with eyes of sacrifice on the whole material world, and heedfully he will make the whole material world undying. (95) His comrades advance, ... thinking well, speaking well, acting well, upholding the Good Religion; and they will utter no false word with their tongues. Before them will flee ill-fated Aēšma of the bloody club. Aša will conquer the evil Drug, hideous, dark. (96) Aka Manah will also be overcome, Vohu Manah overcomes him. Overcome will be the falsely spoken word, the truly spoken word overcomes it.... Haurvatāt and Amaratāt overcome both Hunger and Thirst.... Anra Mainyu of evil works will flee, bereft of power.⁴⁹

Though this passage contains, *in nuce*, some of the themes common in the later apocalyptic texts, it shows no sign of that millenarian anxiety, of that desire for immediate salvation, which are so typical of those communities which experience distressful times due to their religious beliefs. These themes will be felt and developed far more in Pahlavi literature, when poor material conditions foster desperate longing for the promised saviour.

The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is, without doubt, the most complete epitome of Zoroastrian apocalyptic literature. This text claims to be inspired by Avestan sources and contains a number of those *vaticinia ex eventu* which are so common in documents of other apocalyptic traditions. Judging both from the contents and the language, the date of its final version cannot be very far from that of the bulk of other Pahlavi texts, that is between the ninth and tenth century CE. Incidentally a 10th century date would coincide with the information provided by the above mentioned colophon of DH. As we shall see, the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* contains different layers of tradition. Material inspired by ancient religious themes, such as found in the existing Avesta, goes side by side with historical references relative to events of the Sasanian period and even later. Hence, in my opinion, the greatest part of this text should be ascribed to the late Sasanian or early Islamic period. Even more important, the redaction of the text as we know it, as well as the elaboration of apocalyptic speculation as found in the

⁴⁵ On apocalyptic genre as limited to specific contexts see Hartman 1983a, pp. 340-41.

⁴⁶ R. H. Charles *apud* Boyce 1987, p. 154.

⁴⁷ Gignoux 1986a, p. 335; see also Gignoux 1987, p. 351 and 357 and 1988a, pp. 67-71.

⁴⁸ See, among others, Boyce 1984b and Messina 1932.

⁴⁹ Boyce 1984b, p. 58. Cf. Messina 1932, pp. 160-61; see now Hintze 1994, pp. 370-99.

Pahlavi texts, does not seem to be pre-Sasanian. Obviously older material found its way into Pahlavi apocalyptic texts but the evidence for an earlier dating of the apocalyptic system found in such texts is scanty. Widengren's⁵⁰ attempt to reconstruct an Avestan source through the analysis of the language and of the set formulas present in the text is not entirely convincing.

The other text which has, in its entirety, been ascribed to Middle Persian Zoroastrian apocalyptic is the *Ayādgar ī Ğāmāspīg*⁵¹. Nevertheless, only chapters sixteen and seventeen recount events relative to the end of times. This text is quite different in content from the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, except for chapters sixteen and seventeen which bear on eschatology. The *Ayādgar ī Ğāmāspīg* has reached us only partially in its Middle Persian form. However Messina, with painstaking labour, has brought together the various linguistic traditions in order to reconstruct the original text. Previously, in 1903, Modi⁵² had edited the Pahlavi, Pāzand and Pārsi parts and, one year later, West⁵³ produced an article in which he edited Pahlavi and Pārsi passages taken from this work. In the thirties the Pahlavi passages, corresponding to chapter sixteen of *Aġ*, were edited by Bailey⁵⁴ and Benveniste⁵⁵ under the name of *Ğāmāsp Nāmag*.

In the *Great Bundahišn* two chapters, numbers thirty three and thirty four of Anklesaria's edition, are devoted to eschatological and, partially, apocalyptic themes. The first describes the events which will occur at the end of each millennium while the second is dedicated to a more detailed description of the events which will occur at the end of time⁵⁶.

The seventh book of the *Dēnkard* describes, in chapters seven to eleven, the history of the world from *Wištāsp* to the coming of *Sōšāns*. This narration belongs to the apocalyptic genre⁵⁷. Furthermore, a passage in the ninth book of this same work, while summarizing the *Sūdgar Nask*, a lost book of the *Avesta*, outlines the theory of the four ages⁵⁸.

In a text which is considered by some as Zurvanite, the *Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram*, chapters thirty four and thirty five can be considered eschatologic⁵⁹.

The *Pahlavi Rivāyat which accompanies the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*⁶⁰ contains two eschatological chapters, forty eight and forty nine.

Other texts such as the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, the *Mēnōg ī Xrad*, the *Čīdag ī Andarz ī Pōryōtkēšān* and the New Persian *Zarātūšt Nāme* contain passages relative to the end of time⁶¹.

A text which is by many assigned to the Iranian cultural milieu must be mentioned: *The Oracles of Hystaspes*. This work, which has some traits in common with the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, has often been considered as proof of the influence of Zoroastrian apocalyptic thought over other Near Eastern traditions such as Judaic inter-testamental literature⁶².

Summing up: the existence of Zoroastrian apocalyptic in pre-Sasanian times cannot be excluded, however, as already stated, it is rather difficult to demonstrate. The *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* must be assigned to a late date and this is true of most other Pahlavi apocalyptic texts or sections of texts. However until a complete analysis of the various passages is carried out we cannot exclude the existence of a pre-Sasanian layer. Consequently, the problem of the relations between the different Near Eastern apocalyptic traditions remains open and is of such complexity that it cannot be discussed here. Nonetheless, the claim to antiquity of Iranian tradition is weakened by a later dating of our text.

THE SCHOLARLY DEBATE RELATIVE TO THE DATE OF THE TEXT

The final version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is, by consensus, attributed to the Islamic period. Rather more controversial is the dating of its contents. The ascertaining of the antiquity of Zoroastrian apocalyptic ideas enables us to go a long way in solving closely connected questions, such as its relation with the other apocalyptic traditions present in the Near and Middle East. Clearly, the answer that we choose to give to the question of the date of the material present in the

⁵⁰ See mainly Widengren 1983.

⁵¹ This title was given by Messina in his edition of the entire text from Pahlavi, Pāzand, Pārsi and New Persian manuscripts (Messina 1939).

⁵² Modi 1903.

⁵³ West 1904.

⁵⁴ Bailey 1930-32a.

⁵⁵ Benveniste 1932.

⁵⁶ See Anklesaria 1956.

⁵⁷ See Molé 1967, pp. 70-105.

⁵⁸ *Dk* IX 8.1, *DkM* 792.4-16. See Gignoux 1987, p. 354.

⁵⁹ See Anklesaria 1964 and Zachner 1939-42. Now refer to Gignoux-Tafazzoli 1993.

⁶⁰ See Williams 1990.

⁶¹ See, among others, Boyce 1987, p. 156, Kippenberg 1978, pp. 50-51, and Hultgård 1983, pp. 389-90.

⁶² See, recently, Boyce 1991, pp. 376-81.

Zand ī Wahman Yasn involves a different interpretation of the genesis of the apocalyptic genre, of the connected imagery, and of its diffusion in antiquity. However, from the Iranian point of view, it is more important to establish when, approximately, Zoroastrian apocalyptic, as we know it through the Pahlavi texts, became a coherent system.

The origin of the myth of the four ages of the world and of its modified version in seven epochs, when and from where these themes appeared in Iranian tradition, its being or not being alien to the positive outlook of Zoroastrianism, the relation between the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* and the *Book of Daniel*, between the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* and the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, are all still controversial questions.

To this one must add the much discussed existence of an Avestan archetype, the differing opinions on precisely what historical events have contributed to the birth of Middle Persian apocalyptic literature and, as a consequence, to the redaction of our text, and the obvious difficulties in clearly distinguishing the various layers of tradition, a difficulty due both to the long and, at times, imperfect line of transmission and to the scarcity of older material useful for comparison. The final picture is that of a very complex field of research and of a debate which is bound to interest scholars of Iranian studies and of other disciplines for years to come.

Here I will limit myself to the exposition of the main theories and interpretations which have been proposed in recent and less recent years, and will present a few considerations that spring from the careful reading of the text. As is, by now, clear to the reader, any attempt to definitively solve the intricate problem of Iranian apocalyptic would need to be preceded by the investigation of all the material contained in various Pahlavi texts and by further comparative analysis that could not be limited to Iranian material.

There is a general trend, especially in recent times, among Iranists, to consider the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* as a text conceived and written, at least in some form, much before the Arah conquest.

However, Darmesteter⁶³, more than a century ago, proposed dating it to the time of the Crusades, while Haug believed that it was written "a considerable time after the Mohammedan conquest"⁶⁴. On the other hand West⁶⁵ considered

⁶³ See Darmesteter 1883, vol. 2, p. 69, for the text of a review to *The Sacred Books of the East* vol. V appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* of March 1881.

⁶⁴ Haug 1878, p. 107.

⁶⁵ West 1880, pp. liv-lv.

our present text as a version dating from the 11th or 12th century of an original *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* written around the end of the 7th century. According to this pioneer in Iranian studies, the Avestan original was compiled from older sources under the early Sasanian monarchs.

Outside Iranian studies, Reitzenstein⁶⁶ saw Iranian apocalypticism as a source both for ancient Greek texts and for Hellenistic apocalyptic literature; in the sixties, Eddy⁶⁷ interpreted it as a testimony of the resistance against Hellenism which followed the Macedonian conquest⁶⁸.

The debate on these themes and on this specific literary work has been very important in determining the antiquity of Zoroastrian apocalyptic and the relations it had with other literary traditions, and still impassions the scholarly community to this day.

Widengren has discussed the origin of apocalyptic ideas in many important contributions over a long number of years⁶⁹. His analysis has been followed, in its general lines, by numerous scholars among whom we must mention Hultgård⁷⁰ and Hartman⁷¹. In his various works Widengren stresses the similarity between the Iranian and the Indian view of the various ages of the world, to put it in his own words:

Überblicken wir die iranische Apokalyptik in ihren Hauptzügen, so hatten wir schon mehrfach Gelegenheit zu der Feststellung, daß sie im wesentlichen mit der indischen Weltalterlehre übereinstimmt. Beide Spekulationen nehmen ihren Ausgangspunkt in der Weltentwicklung, betrachtet als verschiedene Prozesse in Gottes eigenem Körper. Es ist die pantheistische Gottesauffassung, die ursprünglich diesen apokalyptischen Betrachtungen zugrunde liegt. Aber wir können auch einen bedeutsamen Unterschied feststellen. Der ausgeprägte Dualismus in der iranischen Religion läßt den Weltverlauf als ein spannungsvolles Drama erscheinen, das den Kampf zwischen Gut und Böse zeigt.⁷²

⁶⁶ Reitzenstein 1926.

⁶⁷ Eddy 1961; pp. 343-49 contain an abridged translation of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* based on West's version.

⁶⁸ For detailed summaries of scholarly debate over ZWY and Iranian apocalyptic literature see Hultgård (1991, pp. 115-20) and, from the viewpoint of Jewish apocalypticism, Olsson (1983, pp. 25-28).

⁶⁹ Among others see Widengren 1955, 1965, 1969 and 1983.

⁷⁰ See Hultgård 1983 and 1991.

⁷¹ See Hartman 1983b.

⁷² Widengren 1969, p. 465.

Similarly this author underlines the analogies between Iranian and Jewish apocalyptic:

Rein phänomenologisch gesehen finden wir mehrere Übereinstimmungen zwischen der iranischen und der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalypik.⁷³

Widengren has further defined his interpretation of Iranian apocalyptic in his very important communication to the Uppsala colloquium in 1979⁷⁴. In this context he has thoroughly analyzed the Iranian apocalyptic tradition, with particular regard to the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*⁷⁵. Among the salient traits of his work is the constant attention to the narrative style, especially to references to the canonical literature, and to the epic background. The analysis of the narrative formulas reveals, according to this author, a constant reference to the authority of the holy Zoroastrian writings, that is to the *Avesta* and to its commentary, the *Zand*⁷⁶. According to him:

In der Geschichte der iranischen Religion ist Zarathustra der erste Apokalyptiker. Er geht indessen von schon indo-iranische Voraussetzungen aus. Aber die alte zyklische Zeitauffassung hat er in eine lineare verwandelt. (...) Zwei neue Motive treten indessen in der jungavestischen Apokalypik auf (...) die Auferstehung der Toten und die voll entwickelte Lehre von den Saošyanten. (...) Zuletzt soll darauf hingewiesen werden, daß eine feste Chronologie der letzten Zeiten schon herausgearbeitet wird.⁷⁷

More specifically on the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* Widengren, in his *Iranische Geisteswelt*, which contains also a translation of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, proposes a periodization of the various strata as found in *ZWY*⁷⁸. In his contribution to the Uppsala colloquium Widengren analyzed in detail chapters two and three⁷⁹ of *ZWY*. Mainly through the analysis of what he calls the "Pišyōtan-Fragmenten"⁸⁰ he reaches the following conclusions on chapter three:

⁷³ Widengren 1969, p. 472.

⁷⁴ Widengren 1983.

⁷⁵ Widengren follows the partition proposed by West.

⁷⁶ Cf. Widengren 1983, pp. 101-04 *et passim*.

⁷⁷ Widengren 1983, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁸ Widengren 1961, pp. 182-83 and 197-98.

⁷⁹ According to West's numbering.

⁸⁰ Which he ultimately assigns to the Parthian period: "Sowohl inhaltlich wie sprachlich führen uns also diese epischen Fragmente zurück zu der zervanistisch-parthischen Überlieferung, dem ursprünglichen *zand*" (Widengren 1983, p. 109).

Ein Vergleich mit Buch II von Bahm. Yt. ist lehrreich, denn dort finden wir kaum ein einzige exegetische Glosse. Das ist ein neues Indiz dafür, daß Buch III hauptsächlich auf der PÜ eines avestischen Textes basiert ist. Aber der Redaktor bat sich bemüht, die legendären, anfangs ganz unzoroastrischen Heroen durch Anknüpfung an zoroastrische rituelle Handlungen zu "zoroastrisieren". Er setzt dadurch eine schon jungavestische Tendenz fort. (...) In diesem Abschnitt wurde demonstriert, daß Buch III von Bahm. Yt. ein ziemlich umfassendes episches Fragment als Kernstück bewahrt hat.⁸¹

Further on, through a comparison with the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, he reaches the conclusion that much of the material contained in *ZWY* can be retraced to apocalyptic themes that were current in the Iranian world around the year 100 BCE which is the date he assigns to the *Oracles*. In his own words:

Durch Vergleich mit den Orakeln des Hystaspes, die mindestens um 100 v. Chr. entstanden sind, hat sich herausgestellt, daß viel Stoff in Bahm. Yt. II, der aufgrund formal-philologischer Gründe nicht als avestisch zu erweisen ist, schon in der Zeit der Orakel in Form von iranischen apokalyptischen Themata kursierte. Wenn wir diesen Stoff zu dem vorhandenen avestische addieren, sehen wir sofort, daß auch der größere Teil von Buch II einen avest. Ursprung besitzt. Sassanidisch ist die Adaptation des alten Stoffes und die sassanidischen Verhältnisse, bes. was die letzte Zeit des Reiches betrifft, als die Kriege mit den Byzantinern, Türken und vor allem Arabern den Sturz des Sassanidenreiches herbeiführten.⁸²

Widengren reaches the following conclusions:

Zusammenfassend können wir somit sagen, daß die hier als "avestisch" bezeichneten Partien von Bahm. Yt. wirklich dem in avest. Sprache vorliegenden *Avesta* angehören, so wie dieser Kanon vor der sassanidischen Zeit tradiert wurde. Mit sassanidischen Zusätzen zu dem avest. Text haben wir nicht zu rechnen, wohl aber, wie soeben ausgeführt wurde, mit Zusätzen und Adaptierungen in der PÜ, die als Vorlage für den Pahlavitext des Bahm. Yt. diente. (...) Völlig falsch ist also die so oft auftauchende Behauptung, daß die apokalyptische Pahlavi-Literatur post-sassanidisch und die dort gefundenen Ideen sehr spät seien. Im Gegenteil sind sie sehr alt, denn sie stammen nicht nur aus dem *Avesta*, sondern es läßt sich zudem eine erstaunliche Kontinuität der

⁸¹ Widengren 1983, pp. 118-19.

⁸² Widengren 1983, p. 126.

Vorstellung aufzeigen, wobei besonders auffallend ist, daß Bahm. Yt. 111 auf die älteste Periode des Zoroastrismus Bezug nimmt.⁸³

Hultgård, a scholar who has studied in detail the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, and who shares the greater part of Widengren's opinions, synthesizes the position of this school of thought rather well in the following passage:

With the presupposition that genuine religious traditions ceased to be composed in the Avestan language long before the rise of the Sassanian empire in the third century, most of the material in *Bahman Yasht* can thus be assigned to a period considerably earlier than the actual time of the compilation of the work. The underlying Avestan text is usually dated to the period of crisis following the fall of the Achaemenian empire in the late fourth century BCE, and is moreover seen in relation with a growing Oriental resistance to the Hellenistic rulers who became heirs of Alexander the Great.⁸⁴

However, Hultgård quite clearly states that the final version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is post-Sasanian:

The *Bahman Yasht* is a comparatively short text compiled in the ninth or tenth century CE among Zoroastrians of Iran who were living as a minority group in a predominantly Muslim environment.⁸⁵

In the third volume of her great synthesis of Zoroastrian cultural history⁸⁶ Boyce depicts a powerful picture of the Zoroastrian contributions to other cultural traditions in the Near East. In this context the author asserts that an extensive body of Zoroastrian apocalyptic already existed in Hellenistic times. Apocalyptic being a typical product of trying times, she places the growth of the genre after the fall of the Achaemenians:

There was probably accordingly a general growth, in the late fourth - early third centuries, throughout the Zoroastrian community of a literature denouncing the evils of the present time and offering hope of the coming kingdom of Ahura Mazda.⁸⁷

Moreover she traces eschatological themes back to the prophet Zoroaster himself; speaking of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* this scholar states:

The first chapter of the ZVYt is taken, it is stated, from the *zand* i. e. commentary of the (lost) *Sudgar Nask*, which was itself an Avestan commentary on the Gatha Y. 31; and this Gatha contains Zoroaster's words to Ahura Mazda: 'I ask Thee, Lord, about those things which indeed are coming and shall come' (*tā θwā parasā ahurā yā zī āitī jānghaticā*). Zoroastrian apocalyptic does in fact derive essentially from the prophet's own vision of the future, even though it contains inevitable accretions acquired through the centuries.⁸⁸

According to Boyce, a great part of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* derives from the *Zand* of a lost hymn to *Vohu Manah*. This scholar does not overlook the difficulty arising from the lack of any mention whatsoever of the *Amāša Spānta* in the narration, but believes that the problem can be solved by considering the existing *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* as a secondary addition to the *zand* of the now lost hymn. She believes that this appendix is justified by the connections that *Vohu Manah* has with prophetic vision. Furthermore Boyce believes that this text, which in origin may be attributed to the period immediately following Alexander's invasion, when apocalyptic thought took root among the magi resident in Babylon⁸⁹, was to experience a second recension in post-Islamic times when the Zoroastrians suffered the trials of a second hostile invasion. Nevertheless, according to her, the two *strata* are clearly discernable⁹⁰. In an article dating from 1984⁹¹ this author discusses in detail the character *Pešōtan* and analyses his legend as it has come down to us through the Avestan, Pahlavi and Persian tradition; considerable attention is devoted to the fortress of *Kangdiz*⁹². According to her the development of *Pešōtan*'s legend belongs to the year one thousand BCE ca. The doctrine of the three "saviours" as well as that of the twelve thousand year cosmic cycle, was, according to this author, adopted by the western Iranian clergy before the end of the 5th century BCE.

⁸⁸ Boyce 1991, pp. 383-84.

⁸⁹ Cf. Boyce 1984b, p. 68: 'The Macedonian conquest, it has been cogently argued, must have given a powerful new impulse to the cultivation of Zoroastrian apocalyptic, with the Iranians, suffering invasion and alien misrule, looking with longing for the coming of a Saviour who would re-establish the faith in purity and power, and with it Iranian sovereignty; and very probably one of the products of this epoch was a late Avestan text, the *Vahman Yašt*'.

⁹⁰ See further Boyce 1991 pp. 382-87.

⁹¹ Boyce 1984b.

⁹² Boyce 1984b, pp. 59-67.

⁸³ Widengren 1983, pp. 154-55.

⁸⁴ Hultgård 1991, p. 119.

⁸⁵ Hultgård 1991, p. 115.

⁸⁶ Boyce 1991, pp. 361-490.

⁸⁷ Boyce 1991, p. 382.

Consequently, she assigns an older origin to those passages which reveal the belief in only one redeemer. While commenting ZWY 4.66 Boyce states:

The last words show that this prophecy belongs properly to the ancient period of Zoroastrian apocalyptic as represented in *Yašt* 19, which knew of only one World Saviour, Astvaṛəšta, who will in the end drive out or destroy the Evil Spirit, Anra Mainyu.⁹³

Thus, though dating the blossoming of Zoroastrian apocalypse, and the hypothetical Avestan *Wahman Yašt*, to the period of Seleucid rule, Boyce assigns the final version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* and of other apocalyptic texts such as the *Ayādgar ī Jāmāspīg* to the 9th century CE.

As a logical consequence of this analysis Boyce upholds the priority in date of Iranian apocalyptic with respect to other apocalyptic traditions and, consequently, maintains that it has influenced other Near Eastern traditions, preeminently the Jewish tradition. Moreover, according to her, though eschatological ideas are to be found even in the *Gāthās*, the term "apocalyptic" should rather:

(...) be applied in a parallel way in the Zoroastrian field to distinguish secondary Zoroastrian 'revelation' from the teachings of the prophet himself. Zoroastrian apocalyptic, thus defined, includes materials in the *yašts* and in lost Avestan doctrinal works known through their Pahlavi translations; and so it is in part much older than Jewish apocalyptic, and appears to contain less alien matter.⁹⁴

Moreover, if one accepts the term 'apocalyptic eschatology'⁹⁵, the earliest evidence for this literary genre, according to Boyce, should be dated to the period of Zoroaster himself who, according to her reconstruction, lived between 1400 and 1200 BCE. Here follows the periodization proposed by Boyce in her 1984 article on apocalyptic:

- c. 1400 B.C. Zoroaster's own apocalyptic vision.
- c. 1200 B.C. Belief established in a World Saviour, the Saošyant, Zoroaster's son, to be born miraculously of a virgin towards the end of time.
- c. 1000 B.C. Development of the legend of the immortal Piši.šyaoθna, as one of the Saošyant's comrades.

⁹³ Boyce 1984b, p. 67.

⁹⁴ Boyce 1989b, p. 71.

⁹⁵ See note 46.

- c. 400 B.C. Concept evolved of a world-year of 12 millennia. Belief fostered thereafter in three successive Saviours, all sons of Zoroaster by virgin mothers.
Pišōtan now seen as comrade of the first of these Saviours.
- c. 300 B.C. Concept of metallic ages adopted, probably from the Greeks.
Oral compilation of the Avestan *Vahman Yašt*.
- c. 200 B.C. Oral translation of Avestan apocalyptic works into Middle Iranian vernaculars.
onwards
- c. A.D. 600 New developments in oral apocalyptic through Middle Persian (Pahlavi) translations with glosses and commentaries, during troubled late Sasanian period.
- A.D. 700-800 Further development of oral apocalyptic during aftermath of Arab conquest.
- A.D. 850-900 Final writing down of Middle Persian *Zand* of some apocalyptic texts. Hope in the coming Saviour continuing thereafter to sustain the oppressed adherents of the faith.⁹⁶

Quite different are the results of Gignoux's research⁹⁷. As we have previously seen, this author proposes a definition of apocalyptic which is more restrictive than that of either Widengren or Boyce. Starting from this premise he considers Iranian apocalyptic as a late product, influenced both by Jewish and Christian models. Consequently, he proposes dating the blossoming of Iranian apocalyptic literature to post-Sasanian times and dating the original version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* to the Islamic period. Hence, he interprets the *vaticinia ex eventu* found in this text as referable to specific historical events.

In his analysis of Zoroastrian apocalyptic literature, Gignoux discusses with particular attention the text with which we are now concerned. In an article where, through a detailed analysis of the text, he denies the existence of an Avestan *Wahman Yašt*, he states:

Je voudrais montrer qu'au contraire, le ZVY ne peut servir à prouver l'existence d'un Bahman Yasht avestique, ni dans le fond ni dans la forme, et qu'il s'apparente étroitement aux autres textes pehlevi, par son caractère composite, en dépit de son contenu apocalyptique: mais celui-ci doit être aussi justement évalué, en déterminant dans les allusions à des événements historiques un *terminus ante quem*, et les différentes niveaux de prédictions apocalyptiques, par rapport à un noyau central, qui, comme on le verra, est post-sassanide. Ici comme ailleurs, les références très nombreuses tout au long du livre à la parole

⁹⁶ Boyce 1984b, p. 75.

⁹⁷ Gignoux 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1988a and 1989.

de Zoroastre ne peuvent être la preuve d'une transmission pluri-millénaire de sa prophétie, mais servent bien plutôt à rendre crédible et authentique un texte de rédaction très tardive.⁹⁸

In various passages this author states that the literary genre of *ham-pursagih*, while uncommon in the *Avesta*, is quite well known in Pahlavi literature, in the almost contemporary patristic texts, and in Byzantine literature⁹⁹. Gignoux discusses the various calamities described in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* and demonstrates how they can be considered as consequences of the Islamic onslaught. He then proceeds with the analysis of the historical events found in the text and identifies them with events of post-Sasanian times. He identifies those with black armour as the Abbasids, those with red armour as the followers of *Bābak Xorramī*, the repeated mention of *Padišxwārgar* as a hint to the governor of *Tabaristān Māzyār*, and the white flags as an allusion to the religious movement of *al-Moqanna'*¹⁰⁰. In the analysis of the *realia* he shows that both the description of the misfortunes of the various social classes and the administrative partitions¹⁰¹ point toward a late date¹⁰². Gignoux concludes his analysis of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* stating:

En bref, les différents événements historiques que j'ai cru pouvoir discerner dans le ZVY se rapportent tous à la période islamique, et obligent à dater la rédaction finale de l'ouvrage du 9ème siècle, au plus tôt, ce qui semble logique, si l'on tient compte du caractère général du livre, très semblable à d'autres textes peblevis.¹⁰³

About the much debated question of the relation between Daniel and the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, Gignoux, following Duchesne-Guillemin¹⁰⁴, purports that for the periodization of history in four epochs, represented by the four branches of a tree, the influence of Daniel II on the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is more probable than the contrary; moreover this quadripartition is common to most cultures of the classical world¹⁰⁵. As regards the relation of the *Zand ī*

⁹⁸ Gignoux 1986b, p. 54.

⁹⁹ Gignoux 1986b, pp. 56-57; 1988a p. 72. *Contra* Boyce 1989b, p. 73 n. 56.

¹⁰⁰ This doubtful interpretation will be discussed in the comment.

¹⁰¹ These administrative partitions are those of the late Sasanian period which survived in the caliphate. On late Sasanian administrative partitions see Gyselen 1989.

¹⁰² Gignoux 1986b, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰³ Gignoux 1986b, p. 62.

¹⁰⁴ Duchesne-Guillemin 1982.

¹⁰⁵ Gignoux 1987, pp. 354-57.

Wahman Yasn to the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, he states in accordance with Flusser¹⁰⁶ that it is the work of a pseudoeppigraph of the 1st century CE and that the existence and the importance of the Iranian substrate needs to be demonstrated¹⁰⁷. Quite important is, in my opinion, Gignoux's statement about the loss of "Iranian" identity:

Toutes ces prédictions ne font que relater les événements survenus lors de la conquête arabe, avec un accent de vérité très significatif: conquête progressive, perte de l'identité 'iranienne' - notion qui n'a existé dans l'Iran ancien qu'à partir des Sassanides -, pillage des biens, tribut à payer, ne sont pas des événements spectaculaires, 'apocalyptiques', mais la réalité vécue par les Mazdéens lors de la conquête.¹⁰⁸

Summing up Gignoux reaches the following conclusions:

Si l'eschatologie iranienne possède son originalité certaine, que je ne mets pas en doute, l'apocalyptique qui l'a récupérée et qui s'est construite tardivement sur des modèles judéo-chrétiens à l'époque sassanide, comme le montrent les textes peblevis, ne peut être - à moins que l'on n'avance d'autres arguments que ceux qui l'ont été jusqu'à présent - la source d'autres apocalypses.¹⁰⁹

And:

Dire que l'apocalyptique iranienne aurait influencé l'apocalyptique juive me paraît donc très contestable. Cette dernière a eu ses continuateurs, avec l'apocalypse chrétienne, et plus tard l'apocalypse musulmane. On peut penser que les Mazdéens se devaient d'avoir leur propre apocalypse. Rédigée à l'époque post-sassanide et utilisant le mythe aussi bien que les spéculations eschatologiques, dont M. Hengel a écrit qu'elles sont "de caractère astrologique, mythologique et dualiste", cette apocalyptique, comme je l'ai définie au début, ne peut guère plonger ses racines au-delà de la période sassanide tardive. C'est un genre en quelque sorte original mais aussi bâtard, si l'on se base sur les textes que nous possédons, sans spéculer davantage sur ceux qui n'existent plus et dont la perte présumée ne peut servir d'hypothèse de travail, tant que des preuves sérieuses de cette perte ne seront pas apportées.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Flusser 1982.

¹⁰⁷ Gignoux 1986a, p. 345; 1988a, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Gignoux 1987, p. 361.

¹⁰⁹ Gignoux 1988a, pp. 76-77.

¹¹⁰ Gignoux 1986a, p. 346.

Though all the different theories possess a degree of truth, each theory being based on plausible arguments, I believe that, if we consider Iranian apocalyptic as the system of speculation delivered to us through the Pahlavi texts, we cannot fail to date it, at least, to the very late Sasanian period. Quite obviously, single themes may predate this period as part of an eschatological system. The actual version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, as it now stands, belongs, in all probability, to the post-Islamic period. As regards the lexicon it shows characters which suggest a late date of redaction. Among these is the confusion between *ēd*, *ēg* and *ēw*, shown, among other things, by the spelling *HNA* used both for *ēd* and *ēw* which belongs to a linguistic stage when these final consonants were not longer pronounced. Similarly, the use of some phonetic spellings in place of historical spellings, and the advanced state of language which this spelling reveals, would suggest, at least, a period contemporary to that of the composition of most other Pahlavi texts. As for the Parthian words used in this composition, it is my opinion that by the 9th century many words of Parthian origin had become an integral part of the Pahlavi language¹¹¹.

To these one must add the interpretation of historical events and of such expressions as, for example, the use of the epithet **kilīsāyīg* for the western enemy, which justifies, to a certain extent, Darmesteter's improbable reference to the Crusades¹¹². The literary genre of *ham-pursagīh* and the debt that this text seems to owe other Pahlavi works such as the *Dēnkard*, the *Bundahišn* and the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* all seem to favour this hypothesis.

I have discussed elsewhere in detail the historical and pseudohistorical themes relating to this text and have reached the following conclusion. It is quite evident that the texts we are dealing with are made up of various *strata*:

The first is the mythical, represented, in these passages, by the hero *Pišōtan*.

Then we have substantial references to the Late Sasanian period, like the list of epochs already mentioned, and some characteristics of the hero *Kay Wahrām*, which were probably taken from *Wahrām Gōr* and *Wahrām Čōbēn*. The mention of a queen, as well, is a reference to events of the late Sasanian period. The three enemies: Turks, Byzantine and Arabs, with the partial exception of the latter, are to be referred to this context as well.

¹¹¹ Refer also to the very convincing criticism of Widengren's stylistic analysis of the text found in Gignoux 1986b, pp. 62-63. As Gignoux (1988a, p. 72 n. 24^{bis}), with reference to Lazard (1963, pp. 464-65), has correctly pointed out the word-order in early New Persian was considerably free.

¹¹² For a discussion of the single historical events refer to the Commentary.

The last *stratum* is the one relating to the post-Sasanian period. It is in this category that we must include the great interest for Central Asia and, possibly, for the Caspian and Caucasian regions, too. This is determined on the one hand by the flight of *Pērōz*, son of *Yazdegard*, to Central Asia and, on the other, by the persistence of Mazdean reigns in the Caspian region. The fact that the armies of the *dēws* are depicted as coming mainly from the east and not from the north, as would be expected in accordance with the cosmology of the Zoroastrian church, suggests that there must be a reference to some historical event, maybe the Turkish or even the Mongol invasions, which we are as yet not able to identify.

To conclude, we could say that old mythical themes, remembrances of the past glory of Sasanian times and different traditions relative to events which struck the imagination of the different surviving Zoroastrian communities, be they from Central Asia, *Sēstān*, *Pārs*, *Xwarāsān* or from the Caspian regions, have contributed to the development of a unitary apocalyptic conception which has its most complex redaction in *ZWY*¹¹³.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription has been aimed at the reconstruction of the *Urtext* and thus readings of all four manuscripts taken into consideration have been inserted. Variants are mentioned in the footnotes. In general, even though K20 has a claim to greater authority due to its age, both the readings in K20 and DH represent a reliable tradition. K43, though closely related to DH, presents interesting variants. K20h, of which little is left, must have been quite a reliable manuscript. The *apparatus criticus*, as regards the transliteration, though intended to be as comprehensive as possible is not, nor could it be, absolutely exhaustive.

The system of transliteration and transcription adopted is that put forward by MacKenzie in 1967¹¹⁴ and then adopted for his *Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*¹¹⁵. Rossi's article of 1973¹¹⁶ has also been taken into due consideration.

¹¹³ Cf. Cereti (forthcoming).

¹¹⁴ MacKenzie 1967.

¹¹⁵ MacKenzie 1971.

¹¹⁶ Rossi 1973.

In the transliteration peculiar graphemes and corrupted letters have been underlined only in extreme cases, within logograms the rendering proposed by MacKenzie¹¹⁷ has been regularly followed except for spellings presenting a marked variant from the most common forms. Common variants such as *sp/sp*, final dashes (') and dashes when in meaningless positions have not, as a general rule, been noted. Both in the transliteration and in the transcription common traits such as the alternance *-dyt* and *-yt* in the 3 sg. pres. of verbs whose stem ends in *-d* have, normally, not been noted.

TRANSLATION

Translating from any oriental language always presents many problems. This is all the more true for a dead language such as Pahlavi. It is not always possible to adhere completely to the text nor to render the idiomatic expressions without a certain degree of approximation. In general an effort has been made to keep the translation as literal as possible or, when this was not possible, to give a reference to the Pahlavi text in the footnotes. Though to some this may seem superfluous, it has been done to illustrate, as far as possible, Pahlavi prose also to those who are not specialists of the language. Those terms which are more specific to the Zoroastrian religion have not been translated to avoid oversimplification. Textual difficulties, when not related to other exegetical problems, are discussed in the footnotes to the translation.

COMMENTARY AND GLOSSARY

The Commentary is mainly focused on the historical and religious issues though a few philological problems have been discussed. Particular attention has been devoted to those details which help to date the text and to the comparison of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* with other texts of Pahlavi literature.

The Glossary is intended as an aid to the reading and a repertory of words, thus no linguistic discussion will be found there. Readings and interpretations, when not of common consensus are explained in the notes to the translation and in the Commentary. The Glossary contains all words found in the transcription,

including those which have been reconstructed or added, without further warnings.

Further references can be found in the Bibliography.

¹¹⁷ MacKenzie 1971.

ABBREVIATIONS

| Texts | |
|---------------------|---|
| Af | <i>Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg</i> |
| AWN | <i>Arđā Witrāz Nāmag</i> |
| AZ | <i>Āfrīn ī Zarduxšt</i> |
| B | <i>Dēnkard</i> , MS B. See Dresden 1966 |
| Dk | <i>Dēnkard</i> |
| DkM | <i>Dēnkard</i> , ed. Madan 1911 |
| Bd | <i>Great Bundahišn</i> |
| MX | <i>Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī Xrad</i> |
| N | <i>Nērangestān</i> |
| Ny | <i>Niyāyišn</i> |
| PR | <i>Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg</i> |
| S | <i>Srōza</i> |
| ŠHaf | <i>Šābuhr I at Hājjābād</i> |
| ŠMŠ | <i>Šābuhr II at Miškin-Šahr</i> |
| Vd | <i>Vendidad</i> |
| Vyt | <i>Vištāsp Yašt</i> |
| WZad | <i>Wizīdagihā ī Zādspram</i> |
| Y | <i>Yasna</i> |
| Yt | <i>Yašt</i> |
| ZWY | <i>Zand ī Wahman Yasn</i> |
| Journals and Series | |
| AAASH | <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, (Budapest)</i> |
| AcOr | <i>Acta Orientalia, (Havniæ)</i> |
| AION | <i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i> |
| AION-L | <i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione Linguistica</i> |
| AMI | <i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran, (Berlin)</i> |
| BSOS | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London</i> |
| BSOAS | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i> |
| CII | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i> |
| CRAIBL | <i>Comptes Rendues de l'Académie des Inscription et Belles-Lettres, (Paris)</i> |
| HdO | <i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> |
| HR | <i>History of Religions (Chicago)</i> |
| JA | <i>Journal Asiatique, (Paris)</i> |
| JAAS | <i>Journal of Asian and African Studies, (Tokio)</i> |
| JCOI | <i>Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute, (Bombay)</i> |
| JRAS | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London)</i> |
| RHR | <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, (Paris)</i> |
| SBE | <i>Sacred Books of the East</i> |

| General | |
|-----------|---|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| abst. | abstract |
| adj. | adjective |
| adv. | adverb |
| al. | alii |
| art. | article |
| aux. | auxiliary |
| Av. | Avestan |
| A.Y. | <i>Anno Yazdegardi</i> |
| Bk | MS of Barzu Kamdin's collective <i>Rivāyat</i> once belonging to Ervad E. K. Antia; variants as reported in Dhabhar 1932. |
| BTA | B.T. Anklesaria |
| caus. | causative |
| cf. | compare |
| ch. | chapter |
| circump. | circumposition |
| cmp. | compound |
| compar. | comparative |
| conj. | conjunction |
| dem. | demonstrative |
| DH | the Pahlavi codex DH |
| encl. | enclitic |
| f(f). | and the following |
| fig. | figurative |
| fol. | folio |
| fut. | future |
| IMP. | Inscriptional Middle Persian |
| impers. | impersonal |
| impv. | imperative |
| indef. | indefinite |
| inf. | infinite |
| interrog. | interrogative |
| intrans. | intransitive |
| IPth. | Inscriptional Parthian |
| K20 | the Pahlavi codex K20 |
| K20b | the Pahlavi codex K20b |
| K43 | the Pahlavi codex K43 |
| M | Manichaean Middle Persian |
| MK | Texts discussed and translated during the summer semester 1994 in Göttingen under the tutorship of Prof. D. N. MacKenzie. |
| MS(S) | manuscript(s) |

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| MS part. r. | manuscript partially ruined |
| MS r. | manuscript ruined |
| n. | noun |
| n. ac. | noun of action |
| n. ag. | agent noun |
| neg. | negative |
| nom. | nominative |
| NP. | New Persian |
| num. | numeral |
| numer. | numerical |
| OIr. | Old Iranian |
| om. | omit |
| ord. num. | ordinal number |
| OP. | Old Persian |
| opt. | optative |
| Pahl. | Pahlavi |
| par. | paragraph |
| part. | participle |
| pass. | passive |
| pers. | personal |
| pf. | perfect |
| poss. | possessive |
| postp. | postposition |
| p.n. | proper noun |
| pred. | predicate |
| prep. | preposition |
| pres. | present |
| pron. | pronoun |
| pt. | past |
| ptcl. | particle |
| Pth. | Parthian |
| rel. | relative |
| S. | <i>Spitāmān</i> |
| sg. | singular |
| subj. | subjunctive |
| suff. | suffix |
| superl. | superlative |
| telep. | teleposition |
| temp. | temporal |
| TD1 | the Pahlavi codex TD1 |
| TD2 | the Pahlavi codex TD2 |
| trans. | transitive |
| vb. | verb |
| vbl. | verbal |

| | |
|-------|----------------------------|
| YAv. | Younger Avestan |
| Z, z. | <i>Zarduxšt, zltw(h)št</i> |

Signs

| | |
|----|--|
| () | In transliteration for barely visible readings. |
| <> | In transcription and translation for words supplied. |
| [] | In transliteration for lacunae. |
| [] | In transcription and translation for words excluded from the text. |
| {} | In transcription and translation for glosses. |

TEXT

MSS K20, K20b, K43 and DH; photoreduced from the
Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, vol. I and vol. V
and from the edition of the Iranian Culture Foundation, 89.

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TRANSLITERATION

šn'dšn Y¹ d't²l² 'whrmzd Y³ ŠPYL Y⁴ 'pzwnyk Y⁵ 'pz'dynyt¹l Y l'd'wmnd⁶
Y⁷ GDE'wmnd W⁸ 'mhrspnd'n' 'prynšnyh⁹ Y¹⁰ 'pyck¹¹ ŠPYL dyn¹² Y¹³
m'zdsn'n¹⁴ tn' drwstyh¹⁵ W¹⁶ dgl zywsnyh¹⁷ W¹⁸ 'p't CBWyh¹⁹ OLE²⁰ l'd MNW
YKTYBWNyhy²¹.

CHAPTER ONE

1) cygwn MN¹ stwtkl pyt'k AYK zltwhšt² MN 'whrmzd 'hwšyh³ hw'st⁴

¹ K20 as h, DH and K43 om.

² In K20 follows Y.

³ K20b om.

⁴ K20 and K20b om.

⁵ DH, K43 and K20b om.

⁶ K20b almost as l'dšwmnd. DH and K20 l'šwmnd. K43 l'šwmn'd.

⁷ DH, K43 and K20b om.

⁸ K20b om.

⁹ DH 'prynšnyh. Better 'prynšn.

¹⁰ K20b om.

¹¹ In K20 and K43 follows Y.

¹² K20 ŠPYL Y' dyn, K43 and K20b wyh dyn'.

¹³ K20 and K20b om.

¹⁴ K20, K43 and K20b m'zdsn'n'.

¹⁵ K20b tn'drstyh.

¹⁶ K20b om.

¹⁷ DH dglzywsn.

¹⁸ DH Y.

¹⁹ K20b 'p't' CWByh. DH and K43 add W, K20 and K20b Y.

²⁰ In DH OLE has been erased; on the margin we read hwyš, K20b reads OLEš.

²¹ DH YKTYBWNyhy, K43 YKTYBWNym, K20b YTYBWNyhyt. In K20 the last letter, probably a -ni is partially erased. Better YKTYBWNyhyt.

Chapter One

¹ K43 MNW BYN ystwtkl.

² DH and K43 consistently write zltwhšt, while K20b writes zltwšt', and K20 zltwšt.

2) AHL 'whrmzd hlt' Y⁵ hlwsp 'k'syh⁶ BRA OL zltwhšt nmwt⁷ 3) APŠ⁸ wn¹⁹ bwn ptš BRA HZYTWNt¹⁰ MNW 4¹¹ 'zg ptš¹² YHWWNt 'ywk ZHBAyn¹³ W 'ywk 'symyn¹⁴ W 'ywk pwl'ptyn W 'ywk 'syn¹⁵ QDM gwmyht YKOYMWNt¹⁶ 4) ADYNŠ PWN HNA d'št AYK¹⁷ PWN hmn¹⁸ HZYTWNt. 5) AMT' MN hwlw BRA YHWWNt¹⁹ APŠ²⁰ gwpt zltwhšt AYK hwt'y²¹ Y²² mynw²³ W²⁴ gytydy²⁵ n²⁶ nm'ddyt²⁷ AYKm²⁸ dlhtl²⁹ hwn³⁰ BRA³¹ HZYTWNt³² MNW 4 'zg ptš YHWWNt 6) gwptš³³ 'whrmzd OL³⁴ spyt'm'n zltwhšt AYK ZK dlhtl³⁵ hwn' MNW LK dyt³⁶ 7) ZK 4 'zg ZK³⁷ 4 'wb'm³⁸

³ K20b 'hwš'yh. K20 MS r. [...] (š)yh.

⁴ DH and K43 BOTYHWN'st'. In K43 follows W. K20b hwyst'.

⁵ K20b om.

⁶ K20 and K20b 'k's, DH 'g's.

⁷ K20 and K43 OL z. BRA nmwt; K20b 'w' z. BRA nmwt'.

⁸ DH om.

⁹ Thus K20b. K20, DH and K43 wn HNA.

¹⁰ K20 HZYTWNt. K20b dyt'.

¹¹ Thus K20 and K20b. DH MNW MNW dlhtyk 4; K43 MNWŠ 4.

¹² K20 presents a superfluous p.

¹³ K20b ZBAyn.

¹⁴ K20 'sy(n)my'n'.

¹⁵ K20 and K20b 'synyn'.

¹⁶ K43 YKOYMWNYt. Better YKOYMWNT.

¹⁷ K20b AYKm. In K20 a letter preceding PWN is not readable due to the conditions of the MS.

¹⁸ DH presents, over the ductus, the two letters hw-. Probably the scribe meant to clarify an orthodox but uncommon graphy.

¹⁹ K20b bwt'.

²⁰ In DH the last two letters are repeated at the beginning of folio 231r. Better š.

²¹ DH hwt'yh, K20 hwt'.

²² K20 and K43.

²³ K20 om.

²⁴ In K20b 'ydy'n is partially covered by a stain.

²⁵ Thus DH. K20 and K20b mht. K43 m'ddyt. Better nm'ddyt'.

²⁶ K20b om.

²⁷ K20 dlht. DH and K43 dl'htl.

²⁸ DH om.

²⁹ K20 om.

³⁰ K20b dyt.

³¹ K20 't' written above the line.

³² K20b 'w'. K20 MS r. [.j]L.

³³ DH and K43 dl'ht -l. K20b dlht.

³⁴ K43 adds W, K20 MS r. (d)yt W.

³⁵ K20b om.

³⁶ K20b 'wg'm.

AYT Y lsyt³⁷ 8) ZK Y³⁸ ZHBAyn³⁹ ZK⁴⁰ AMT L W⁴¹ LK hm pwršym⁴² W⁴³ wšt'sp šh⁴⁴ dyn BRA MKBLWNYt⁴⁵ W ŠDYA'n' k'lpwt⁴⁶ BRA⁴⁷ TBLWNYt⁴⁸ W⁴⁹ OL wlyk⁴⁹ W nyh'n lwbsnyh YKOYMWNd⁵⁰ 9) W⁵¹ ZK Y⁵² 'symyn⁵³ hwt'y'yh⁵⁴ 'lthšyl⁵⁵ Y⁵⁶ ky⁵⁷ šh 10) W⁵⁸ ZK Y⁵⁹ pwl'ptyn⁶⁰ hwt'y'yh⁶¹ 'nwšk lw'b'n' hwslw⁶² Y⁶³ kw't'n⁶⁴ 11) W ZK Y⁶⁵ 'syn QDM⁶⁶ gwmyht' YKOYMWNt⁶⁷ dwš p'thš'yh⁶⁸ ŠDYA'n⁶⁹ Y⁷⁰ wc'lt⁷¹ wls⁷² Y⁷³ hyšm twhm⁷⁴

³⁷ K20b YHMTWNYt and omits preceding Y.

³⁸ K20b om.

³⁹ K20 MS r. ZHBA(y)[...]T L.

⁴⁰ K20b om.

⁴¹ K20, DH and K20b om.

⁴² K20b hm pwrst.

⁴³ K20 and K43 om.

⁴⁴ K20 MS r. wšt'sp (š)[...] BRA [...] (ŠDYA'n).

⁴⁵ In DH -N- is written above the line.

⁴⁶ K20b k'lpwt'.

⁴⁷ In K20b a two letter erasure follows.

⁴⁸ K20, K43 and K20b om.

⁴⁹ K20 MS r. OL [...] nyh'n. DH and K20b lyk.

⁵⁰ K20 YK(Y)MWNd, DH and K20b YKOYMWNYt.

⁵¹ K43 om.

⁵² K20 om.

⁵³ K20b 'sym'n'.

⁵⁴ K20 hwt'yh. K20b hwt'yh.

⁵⁵ K20b 'lthšyl.

⁵⁶ K20b om.

⁵⁷ K43 om.

⁵⁸ K20b om.

⁵⁹ K20 om.

⁶⁰ DH pwl'ptyn'.

⁶¹ K20b hwt'yh.

⁶² K20b hwsilw.

⁶³ K20b om.

⁶⁴ K20 and K20b kyw't'n.

⁶⁵ K20 om.

⁶⁶ K20 om.

⁶⁷ DH, K43 and K20b YKOYMWNYt. Better YKOYMWNT.

⁶⁸ DH and K43 p'thš'yh, K20 dwš p'thš'yh.

⁶⁹ K43 ŠDYA.

⁷⁰ In DH only, but written above the line.

⁷¹ DH wc'ltk.

⁷² In K20 preceded by W.

⁷³ DH and K43. In K20 faded (Y h)šm twhm.

⁷⁴ In K20, DH and K20b follows W.

AMT d'hw⁷⁵ stwzm Y⁷⁶ LK⁷⁷ LOYŠE⁷⁸ YHWWNyt' spyt'm'n zltwhšt.

CHAPTER TWO

1) PWN¹ znd Y² whwmn ysn³ W⁴ hwrđt ysn⁵ W št't⁶ ysn' pyt'k AYK⁷ HNA b'l⁸ gskt mzd⁹ Y b'md't'n¹⁰ Y¹¹ dyn' pty'lk OL pyt'kyh¹² YATWNt¹³ APŠ'n pty'lk' PWN dyn' Y¹⁴ yzd'n krt¹⁵ 2) W ZK 'nwš¹⁶ lwb'n' hws¹⁷ Y m'hd't'n¹⁸ W š'hpwl¹⁹ Y²⁰ d't'whrmzd²¹ Y 'twrp'tk'n²² dstwbl²³ W 'twr plnb'g²⁴ Y 'KDBA W 'twrp't' 'twrmtr²⁵ W bht'plyt²⁶ OL LOYN' BOYHWNst²⁷ 3) APŠ

⁷⁵ In DH follows Y. K20 reads *dhm*, K43 *d'hm* Y. The entire phrase in K20b reads *dhm stwzm hc'lk sl spyt'm'n zltwhšt*.

⁷⁶ K20 and K20b om.

⁷⁷ In K20 LK is preceded by the numeral 1.000.

⁷⁸ K20 and K20b *sl*.

Chapter Two

¹ K20b *PW*.

² K20 and K20b om.

³ K20b *yšn*.

⁴ DH om.

⁵ K20b *yš'*. MS K20b ends here.

⁶ DH repeats twice š't't. K43 reads *'wrtwhšt': Urdwahišt*.

⁷ K20 adds *OD*. Here *HNA* must be read **ēw*.

⁸ K43 adds *MNW*.

⁹ K20 and K43 *mzdyk*.

¹⁰ K43 reads *mzdyk Y w'md't wgw*, a corruption of *mzdk Y b'md't'n*.

¹¹ DH *W*.

¹² DH *pyt'k*.

¹³ K20 *YATWNyt*.

¹⁴ K20 and DH om.

¹⁵ K43 repeats twice *krt' W*.

¹⁶ DH *m'h'd't'n*, K43 *m'h'd't'n*. Better *m'h'd't'*.

¹⁷ K20 *W W šhpwl*.

¹⁸ K20 om.

¹⁹ DH *d't'whrmzd*.

²⁰ K43 presents a lacuna which ends with *ādurbād*.

²¹ K20 *dstwbl'n*.

²² K20 *plb'g*.

²³ K43 *wrmtr'*.

²⁴ K43 *b'ht'plyt*.

²⁵ DH *BOYHWNst W*, K20 *'BOYHWNst W*, K43 *BOYHWN'yt*.

ptm'n' bčš hw'st²⁶ AYK ZNE ysnh²⁷ PWN nyh'n AL²⁸ YHSNNyt BRA PWN ptwnd²⁹ Y LKWM znd AL c'šyt³⁰ 4) OLEŠ'n BYN hws³¹ lwb³² ptm'n krt'.

CHAPTER THREE

1) PWN znd whwmn ysn' pyt'k AYK zltwhšt MN 'whrmzd dtykl b'l 'hwšyh hw'st' 2) APŠ¹ gwpt ANEt² AYK zltwhšt HWE³ BYN HNA⁴ d'm'n Y LK 'hlwbtl W krt'lt⁵ d't'l AMT L 'hwš BRA OBYDWNh⁶ cygwn wn' Y⁷ ywdt' byš W⁸ gwptšl⁹ W ywšt Y ply'n¹⁰ W¹¹ cytlwkmynh¹² Y wšt'sp'n HWEt¹³ pyšwtn¹⁴ Y¹⁵ b'myk AYT¹⁶ AMT L 'hwš¹⁷ BRA OBYDWNy¹⁸ cygwn¹⁹ OLEŠ'n PWN

²⁶ DH *BOYHWNst*.

²⁷ K43 *kyšyh*.

²⁸ In K43 preceded by *W*.

²⁹ K43 *ptwd*.

³⁰ K43 *c'šyt* with diacritical points.

³¹ K20 *hws_{lwb}* where *w_l* is very similar to '.

Chapter Three

¹ K20 om.

² The MSS respectively read: DH *ANEt' / HWEt'*, K20 *ANEt / HWEt*, K43 *ANtE / HWtE*, the last one with the inversion of the two final letters. Thus the reading *hād* would also be acceptable but, on account of the context, the *lectio difficilior* **ANE* is to be preferred.

³ DH and K43 om.

⁴ In DH follows *Y*.

⁵ In K43 follows *Y*. K20 *krt'lt'j*.

⁶ K20 om. K43 *OBYDWNh*.

⁷ K20 om.

⁸ DH om.

⁹ DH *gwkt'MLKA*, K43 *gwkt'wšh*.

¹⁰ DH and K43 *ywšt' ply'n*, K20 *[.]wšt Y ply'n* (MS r.).

¹¹ K20 om.

¹² DH *cytlwkmynh*.

¹³ K20, MS part. ruined, *wšt'sp[.] Y HWEt*. Better to read *HNA*.

¹⁴ K20 *pyšwtn*. K43 *pyšwtn*, the preceding ' belongs to *HWEt*, the final -n' is written over the line. DH *pyšwtn* corrected, over the line, *pyšw*. The spelling of this name is difficult to interpret, in the transcription it will be rendered *pyšwtn* (See Commentary 3.2). Moreover, the spellings of K20 and DH are regularly *pyšwtn* which, due to the ambiguities of Pahlavi orthography, may also be, and possibly later was, read as *pyšwtn*. K43 presents regularly the spelling *py(y)šwtn*. Regular variant spellings will not be reported in the following pages.

¹⁵ K20 MS r. for this and the next two words.

¹⁶ In DH followed by *Y*. In K43 by *Y W*.

¹⁷ K20 MS ruined *AYT* [...]*š*.

dyn' Y²⁰ LK ŠPYL HYMN²¹ AYK²² OLE dyn' bwl'tl MNWš 'pyck ŠPYL
 dyn²³ Y mzdsn'n²⁴ MN 'whrmzd BRA²⁵ MKBLWNt²⁶ 'hwš BRA YHWWNt²⁷
 ADYN²⁸ OLEš'n ANŠWTA'n' PWN dyn' Y LK ŠPYL HYMN²⁹ 3) gwptš
 'whrmzd AYK AMT LK³⁰ 'hwš BRA OBYDWNm spyt'm'n zltwhšt ADYN³¹
 twl³² Y bl'tlws³³ Y klp 'hwš BRA YHWWNyt' W³⁴ AMT twl Y³⁵ bl'tlws³⁶ Y³⁷
 klp 'hwš BRA YHWWNyt' lyst'hyc³⁸ W³⁹ tn Y⁴⁰ psyn' krt'n LA š'yt. 4) zltwhšt
 PWN mynšn' dwšhw⁴¹ MDMEN'st' 5) 'whrmzd PWN hlt Y hlwsp 'k'syh
 YDOYTWNst⁴² AYKš ME mynyt spyt'm'n zltwhšt Y 'hlwb' plw'hl⁴⁴ 6) APš⁴⁵
 ZK Y⁴⁶ zltwhšt⁴⁷ YDE⁴⁸ pr'c OHDWNt APš 'whrmzd mynwk 'pzwynyk⁴⁹ d'tl

¹⁸ DH and K43 OBYDWNd; in K20 the MS is partially ruined for what concerns the first letters of the word.

¹⁹ K20 and K43 om.

²⁰ DH om.

²¹ DH HAMNd.

²² K20 MS r. PWN d[...] OLE LK [...] JYL HYMNND [...] OLE.

²³ K20 MS r.

²⁴ K20 and K43 m'zdsn'n.

²⁵ K20 om.

²⁶ DH MMKBLWNt, K20 MKBLWNyt.

²⁷ K20 YHWWNyt.

²⁸ DH and K43 W AHRN.

²⁹ K43 presents a stain of ink.

³⁰ DH adds l'd W, K43 l'd.

³¹ DH and K43 om.

³² DH tw'l.

³³ K43 bl'tlwhš.

³⁴ Lacuna in K43 that ends after the next YHWWNyt.

³⁵ K20 only, but in a ruined area of the MS.

³⁶ DH bl'tlwhš.

³⁷ DH om.

³⁸ K43 lyst'hyc, DH l'st'hyc.

³⁹ K20 om.

⁴⁰ DH om.

⁴¹ K20 om.

⁴² In K20 follows QDM, possibly an uncerased mistake for the beginning of the next word. DH š'yc", or possibly š'yl'. K43 lacuna.

⁴³ K43 hw'st, and, over the line in Arabic script, dānest.

⁴⁴ In K43 this word is preceeded by p'hlwm.

⁴⁵ K20 MN-š.

⁴⁶ K20 MS part. ruined.

⁴⁷ DH zltw(hš)t, running over the margin.

⁴⁸ DH om.

⁴⁹ K43 p'zwynyk.

Y gyb'n 'st'wmnd'n⁵⁰ Y⁵¹ 'hlwb' APš hlt Y⁵² hlwsp 'k'syh⁵³ PWN MYA klp
 QDM YDE Y zltwhšt krt APš⁵⁴ gwpt AYK pr'c⁵⁵ OŠTEN. 7) W zltwhšt hcš⁵⁶
 pr'c OŠTEN⁵⁷ APš⁵⁸ hlt Y⁵⁹ hlwsp 'k'syh⁶⁰ pr'c⁶¹ PWN zltwhšt' BYN gwmyht'
 8) 7 YWM šp'n⁶² zltwhšt BYN 'whrmzd hlt' YHWWNt⁶³ 9) APš⁶⁴ BRA
 HZYTWNT' zltwhšt PWN hpt kyšwl zmyk⁶⁵ mltwm'n⁶⁶ W gwspud'n⁶⁷ AYK
 KRA 'ywk mwd cnd t'k⁶⁸ PWN⁶⁹ pwšt W t'k t'k sl OL AYK YHSNNyt'
 10) APš BRA HZYTWNT⁷⁰ d'l W dlht MNW h'mwdyn⁷¹ cnd⁷² lyšk Y⁷³ 'wlwl'n
 PWN spadrmt' zmyk AYK cygwn lwst' YKOYMWNYt⁷⁴ W⁷⁵ AYK gwmyht
 YKOYMWNYt' 11) APš⁷⁶ hptwm YWM šp'n⁷⁷ hlt Y hlwsp⁷⁸ 'k'syh⁷⁹ MN
 zltwhšt LAWHL YNSEWNt' 12) zltwhšt PWN HNA⁸⁰ d'št' AYK PWN hmn Y

⁵⁰ DH 'stwmnd'n.

⁵¹ K20 and DH om.

⁵² K43 om.

⁵³ K20 'k's.

⁵⁴ K20 MN-š.

⁵⁵ In DH, over the line APš ohrmazd, the second word written in Arabic alphabet.

⁵⁶ K20 MNš.

⁵⁷ K20 OŠTN't.

⁵⁸ K20 MN-š.

⁵⁹ K20 om.

⁶⁰ K20 'k's.

⁶¹ DH and K20 om.

⁶² K20 YWM W šp'n.

⁶³ K43 YHWWNyt.

⁶⁴ K20 MNš.

⁶⁵ K20 MS part. r. (z)myk.

⁶⁶ K20 ANŠWTA'n.

⁶⁷ K20 KYNA'n.

⁶⁸ DH om.

⁶⁹ In K20 preceded by W.

⁷⁰ K20 dyt. In DH followed by W.

⁷¹ In DH ME. In K20 ME W.

⁷² In K43 we find an error by the copyst who writes wydwc. An ink stain partially covers the last two words in K43. Possibly, together with what preceeds, the reading of K43 should be interpreted as MNW hym <c>ygwn'c.

⁷³ Better to emend in W.

⁷⁴ K20 YKOYMWNYt.

⁷⁵ K20 and K43 om.

⁷⁶ K20 MNš.

⁷⁷ K20, MS part. r. YWM W šp'n.

⁷⁸ K20 MS r. hlt [...] šp.

⁷⁹ DH and K20 'k's.

⁸⁰ K20 MS r. LAWHL YN(S)[...](N)t (z)ltwhšt [...] d'št.

BSYM Y 'whrmzd d't⁸¹ dyt' MN hmn LA gwhlt⁸² HWE m 13) APš KRA 2 YDE YBLWNt ZK Y⁸³ NPŠE klp LAWHL m'lyt AYK dgl ODN⁸⁴ HLMWNt YKOYMWNm⁸⁵ W⁸⁶ LA gwhlt⁸⁷ HWE m MN ZNE hmn⁸⁸ Y BSYM Y 'whrmzd d't' 14) gwptš 'whrmzd OL spyt'm'n⁸⁹ zltwhšt' AYKt⁹⁰ ME dyt' PWN hmn Y⁹¹ BSYM Y 'whrmzd d't' 15) gwptš zltwhšt AYK 'whrmzd myawk Y⁹² 'pzwnyk d't'l Y⁹³ gyh'n Y⁹⁴ 'st'wmnd'n' HZYTWNt⁹⁵ HWE m hngt' Y⁹⁶ KBD⁹⁷ hw'stk MNW PWN tn' hwsłwb⁹⁸ W lwb'n' krs⁹⁹ nz'l¹⁰⁰ W PWN dwsłhw YHWWNt' APm LA bwlčnyk¹⁰¹ MDMEN'st' 16) APm HZYTWNt¹⁰² dlgwš Y LOYT CBW¹⁰³ Y¹⁰⁴ 'c'lk APš lwb'n pplyh PWN whšt APm¹⁰⁵ bwlčnyk¹⁰⁶ MDMEN'st' 17)¹⁰⁷ APm HZYTWNt¹⁰⁸ twb'nyk LOYT prznd APm LA bwlčnyk MDMEN'st' 18) APm HZYTWNt¹⁰⁹ škwh Y KBD prznd APm bwlčnyk

⁸¹ K20 MS r. BSYM [...j]mzdd't dyt M(N).

⁸² DH and K43 wgwhlt'.

⁸³ K43 repeats ZK Y.

⁸⁴ K20 zm'n.

⁸⁵ K43 YKOYMWNYt.

⁸⁶ K20 om.

⁸⁷ DH wgwhlt'.

⁸⁸ K43 hw'p'.

⁸⁹ K20 'hlwb'.

⁹⁰ Only DH has the final -t.

⁹¹ K20 om.

⁹² DH and K43 om.

⁹³ K43 om.

⁹⁴ DH W.

⁹⁵ K20 'hlwb' d't'l dyt.

⁹⁶ K20 and DH om.

⁹⁷ K20 .jBD at the beginning of the line. It is not possible to determine if the preceding Y is missing completely or lost due to the poor condition of the MS.

⁹⁸ K20 and DH dwstwb'.

⁹⁹ In K20 k'lš. In K43 followed by W.

¹⁰⁰ K20 nz'yl.

¹⁰¹ K20 blčšnyk.

¹⁰² K43 dyt.

¹⁰³ DH CBW'yh.

¹⁰⁴ DH and K43 om.

¹⁰⁵ K20 MNm.

¹⁰⁶ In DH follows Y.

¹⁰⁷ The entire par. 17 is lacking in K20.

¹⁰⁸ K43 dyt.

¹⁰⁹ K20 dyt.

MDMEN'st' 19) APm HZYTWNt¹¹⁰ dlhtl MNW 7 'zg ptš YHWWNt 'ywk ZHBAYn¹¹¹ W 'ywk 'symyn W 'ywk lwdyn' W 'ywk blncyn¹¹² W 'ywk 'lcycyn¹¹³ W¹¹⁴ 'ywk pwl'ptyn W 'ywk 'sn¹¹⁵ QDM gwm'yt¹¹⁶ YKOYMWNt¹¹⁷ 20) gwptš 'whrmzd AYK spyt'm'n zltwhšt' ZNE ZK¹¹⁸ Y¹¹⁹ OL¹²⁰ LOYN¹²¹ YMRWNm¹²² 21) dlhtl bwn¹²³ Y¹²⁴ LK HZYTWNt¹²⁵ ZK gytyk¹²⁶ AYt' Y L 'whrmzd d't' 22) W¹²⁷ ZK 7 'zg Y¹²⁸ LK HZYTWNt¹²⁹ ZK 7 'wb'm AYt' Y¹³⁰ YHMTWNt¹³¹ 23) W ZK Y¹³² ZHBAYn¹³³ hwt'y'yh¹³⁴ Y¹³⁵ wšt'sp šh AMT L W LK dyn' hm pwr'sym wšt'sp MLKA dyn' BRA¹³⁶ MKBLWNt W ŠDYA'n k'lpwt¹³⁷ BRA TBLWNt W¹³⁸ ŠDYA'n MN¹³⁹ šk'lyh¹⁴⁰ OL nyh'n' lwbšnyh YKOYMWNd W 'hlmn¹⁴¹ W¹⁴² ŠDYA'n wšwtk'n¹⁴³ LAWHL OL t'l

¹¹⁰ K20 MNm dyt.

¹¹¹ K20 ZHLBAYn' but the L was possibly erased.

¹¹² K20 bln'cyn.

¹¹³ K20 skips the last three words.

¹¹⁴ K20 om.

¹¹⁵ K20 'snyn.

¹¹⁶ K20 hmgwmyht.

¹¹⁷ DH and K43 YKOYMWNYt. Better YKOYMWNT.

¹¹⁸ K43 om.

¹¹⁹ K43 and K20 om.

¹²⁰ K20 om.

¹²¹ K43 LK.

¹²² K20 YMRWNm.

¹²³ K20 om.

¹²⁴ K20 MNW.

¹²⁵ K20 dyt.

¹²⁶ DH and K43 gytyk.

¹²⁷ DH om.

¹²⁸ K20 om. K20 MS part. ruined for the preceding three words.

¹²⁹ K20 dyt.

¹³⁰ DH and K43 om.

¹³¹ DH reads, probably due to a scribal error, YHMDWNt'.

¹³² K20 om.

¹³³ K20 ZHBLAYn'.

¹³⁴ K20 is part. ruined hwt'y'[...] (w)št'sp šh.

¹³⁵ K43 om.

¹³⁶ K20 MS r. wšt'sp[...] (yn' BRA) MKBLWNt.

¹³⁷ K20 k'lpwt. DH k'lp'.

¹³⁸ K43 presents a lacuna that ends after the word 'hlmn.

¹³⁹ K20 MS r. ŠDYA'n [...]jk'lyh OL [...] (b)šn YKOYMWNd.

¹⁴⁰ Better šk'lyh.

¹⁴¹ In DH written upside down.

¹⁴² DH and K43 om.

tm dwšhw dwb'lynd W p'hlyc Y MYA W¹⁴⁴ 'thš W 'wlwl W¹⁴⁵ spndrmt¹⁴⁶ zmyk
pyt'k YHWWNyt. 24) W¹⁴⁷ ZK Y 'symyn hwt'ybh¹⁴⁸ Y¹⁴⁹ 'lthštr¹⁵⁰ Y ky
AMT¹⁵¹ whwmn Y¹⁵² spndy't'n¹⁵³ KLYTWNyht¹⁵⁴ MNW ŠDYA MN¹⁵⁵
mltwn'n¹⁵⁶ ywdt'k¹⁵⁷ OBYDWNyt BRA¹⁵⁸ p'yl'yt¹⁵⁹ hm'k gyh'n' dyn' lwb'k
OBYDWNyt. 25) W¹⁶⁰ ZK Y lwdyn' hwt'ybh Y¹⁶¹ 'lthšyl¹⁶² Y¹⁶³ gyh'n' 'l'st'1¹⁶⁴
W wyl'st'1 W ZK Y šhpwl¹⁶⁵ šh AMT¹⁶⁶ gyh'n Y¹⁶⁷ L 'whrmz d't 'yl'yt¹⁶⁸
bwhkyh PWN dd'm'n¹⁶⁹ Y gyh'n lwb'k OBYDWNyt W¹⁷⁰ ŠPYLh¹⁷¹ pyt'k
BRA YHWWNyt' W 'twrp't Y pylwc bht¹⁷² Y dyn' l'st¹⁷³ wyl'st'1 PWN lwd Y
ps'htk¹⁷⁴ ZNE dyn' LWTE ywdt lystk'n¹⁷⁵ LAWLH OL l'styh YHYTYWNyt¹⁷⁶.

¹⁴³ K20 om. Thereafter MS r. p'c O(L)[...](w)m dwb'lynd W p[...]c MYA.

¹⁴⁴ In DH preceded by Y.

¹⁴⁵ DH om.

¹⁴⁶ K20 spndrm[.] zmyk. DH spdrmt'.

¹⁴⁷ K43 om.

¹⁴⁸ DH and K20 hwt'yh.

¹⁴⁹ K43 om.

¹⁵⁰ K20 'lthšyl; K43 'lthšthr.

¹⁵¹ Better MNW.

¹⁵² K20 om.

¹⁵³ K20 spndy'n.

¹⁵⁴ K20 KLYTWNdyht, but possible readings would also be KLYTWNd šyt/jhyt/dhyt. K43 KRYTWNyt.

¹⁵⁵ In K43 preceded by Y. DH M.

¹⁵⁶ DH ANŠWTA'n. K43 ANŠWTA'n. In DH, before this word and under an ownership stamp, we can read *mardumān* in Arabic characters.

¹⁵⁷ DH ywt'k.

¹⁵⁸ K43 presents a lacuna that lasts till the end of the paragraph.

¹⁵⁹ Better p'yl'yt'.

¹⁶⁰ DH om.

¹⁶¹ DH om.

¹⁶² K43 lthšyl.

¹⁶³ K20 om.

¹⁶⁴ K20 MS part. ruined 'l'st[.].l.

¹⁶⁵ DH š'hpwhl. K43 š'ytwhl < š'hpwhl.

¹⁶⁶ Better MNW.

¹⁶⁷ DH and K43 om.

¹⁶⁸ K43 'yl'yt. Better 'l'yt.

¹⁶⁹ In K20 dd'm'n repeated also under the ductus. DH and K43 dd'm'n. Could be read š'm'n but better to emend to d'm'n.

¹⁷⁰ K43 om.

¹⁷¹ DH and K43 ŠPYL Y.

¹⁷² DH and K43 bwhl'.

¹⁷³ K20 lys(t).

¹⁷⁴ DH ps'htk'.

26) W¹⁷⁷ ZK Y blncyn hwt'ybh¹⁷⁸ Y¹⁷⁹ 'šk'n'n šh MNW ywdt lskyh¹⁸⁰ bwt MN
gyh'n BRA blyt W ZK Y dlwnd 'kndgly¹⁸¹ ksy'kyh¹⁸² MN ZNE dyn' BRA
'psyhyt¹⁸³ MN gyh'n AWBDN W 'pyt'k OZLWNyt. 27) W ZK Y 'lcycyn'
hwt'yh Y w'hl'm Y gwl šh AMT¹⁸⁴ mynw'k Y l'mšn wyn'p pyt'k¹⁸⁵ OBYDWNyt
W 'hlmn LWTE y'twk'n LAWLH OL t'1 W¹⁸⁶ twm Y dwšhw¹⁸⁷ dwb'lynd¹⁸⁸.
28) W¹⁸⁹ ZK Y¹⁹⁰ pwl'ptyn' hwt'ybh Y¹⁹¹ hws'wb Y kw't'n¹⁹² šh AMT¹⁹³ gcsk
mzdk¹⁹⁴ Y b'md't'n Y¹⁹⁵ dyn' pty'lk¹⁹⁶ LWTE ywdt¹⁹⁷ lsk'n¹⁹⁸ YKOYMWNYt
MN ZNE dyn' LAWLH YHSNN'yt. 29) W¹⁹⁹ ZK Y²⁰⁰ 'sn²⁰¹ QDM²⁰² gwmyht
YKOYMWNYt²⁰³ spyt'm'n zltwhšt²⁰⁴ hc'lk sl Y LK AMT stwzm Y d'hwm Y
LK sl²⁰⁵ YHWWNyt' spyt'm'n' zltwhšt.

¹⁷⁵ DH l'stk'n; K43 lsk'n.

¹⁷⁶ K20 YHYTYWNyt.

¹⁷⁷ K43 om.

¹⁷⁸ K20 hwt'yh.

¹⁷⁹ K43 om. DH W.

¹⁸⁰ Recte lystkyh. DH l'stkyh. K20 lsk'yh. In DH and K43 follows a long lacuna that ends in par. 27 with the words t'1 W twm.

¹⁸¹ Better 'lksndl Y.

¹⁸² Better ksy'kyk.

¹⁸³ In K20 the last letter is not visible due to the conditions of the MS: 'psyh(y)[.].

¹⁸⁴ Better MNW.

¹⁸⁵ Better wyn'pt'k.

¹⁸⁶ K20 om.

¹⁸⁷ K20 skips Y dwšhw.

¹⁸⁸ K20 dwb'lynd.

¹⁸⁹ DH and K43 om.

¹⁹⁰ K43 om.

¹⁹¹ DH om.

¹⁹² K20 kyt'k'n.

¹⁹³ Better MNW.

¹⁹⁴ K20 and K43 mzyk.

¹⁹⁵ DH om.

¹⁹⁶ DH pt'1. In K20 preceded by Y.

¹⁹⁷ K20 MS part. r. LWT(E ywdt) lsk'n.

¹⁹⁸ Recte lystk'n.

¹⁹⁹ K43 om.

²⁰⁰ K43 om.

²⁰¹ MS K20 is ruined, perhaps 'sm'n 'sn.

²⁰² K20 om.

²⁰³ DH and K43 YKOYMWNYt. Better YKOYMWNYt.

²⁰⁴ K20 repeats -wšt Y. In the same MS starts a long lacuna which lasts till the beginning of ch. 4.

²⁰⁵ K43 adds Y.

CHAPTER FOUR

1) gwptš zltwhšt¹ AYK d't'l Y gyh'n Y² 'st'wmnd'n' mynw³ Y⁴ 'pzwyny⁵ dhšk Y⁶ stwzm Y d'hw⁷ ME YHWWNyt⁸ 2) gwptš 'whrmzd AYK spyt'm'n⁹ zltwhšt lwšn' OYDWNm dhšk Y hc'lk LK sl¹⁰ YHWWNyt¹¹ 3) ZK Y nytwm¹² 'wb'm YHMTWNyt¹ 1 100 'dwynek W¹³ 1000¹⁴ 'dwynek W bywl¹⁵ 'dwynek ŠDYA¹⁶ n¹⁶ Y¹⁷ we'lt¹⁶ wls Y hyšm twhm¹⁸ 4) MN kwst¹⁹ Y²⁰ hwl's'n²¹ ZK Y²² nytwm²³ twhm²⁴ OL 'yl'n' štr²⁵ dwb'lynd²⁶ LALA glpt' dlpš²⁷ HWEd syd²⁸

Chapter Four

¹ After the long lacuna at the end of ch. 3, beginning after *spyt'm'n zltwhšt wšt Y*, K20 presents an area where the MS is part. r. reading [...] AYK.

² DH om.

³ K43 om.

⁴ K20 and DH om.

⁵ In K43 followed by Y.

⁶ K20 MS r. *mynw(k)* [...] (*dhšk ylt*) Y.

⁷ K20 *dhm*. K43 *d'hm*.

⁸ K20 om.

⁹ K20 *'hlwb'*.

¹⁰ Thus K20; DH *sl Y LK*; K43 *sl LK*.

¹¹ K20 MS part. r. (*YH*)*WWNyt'*.

¹² K20 *ntwm*.

¹³ DH om.

¹⁴ DH *1 1000*.

¹⁵ K20 MS r. (*b*)*ywl*; K43 *b'ywl*.

¹⁶ DH and K43 *ŠDYA*.

¹⁷ K20 and DH om.

¹⁸ DH *we'ltk*.

¹⁹ K20 *kwst*.

²⁰ K43 om.

²¹ K20 MS r. [*ylw's'n*].

²² DH om.

²³ K20 *nyttwm*.

²⁴ K20 adds *W hyšm twhm*.

²⁵ K20 MS r. *'yl'n(š)tr'*.

²⁶ K20 *dwb't'nd*. K43 *dwb'l'lynd*.

²⁷ K43 *Y dlpš*.

²⁸ K20 *syd'k*.

zyn' YBLWNd²⁹ W wls we'lt' OL³⁰ pwšt' YHSNNd W hwltk W³¹ nytwm
bwnyk³² nylwk³³ k'l³⁴ znšn pyšk'l wyš HWEd. 5) spyt'm'n zltwhšt³⁵ ZK Y hyšm
twhm³⁶ wšwt APš bwn LA pyt'k 6) PWN y'twkyh³⁶ LALA³⁷ dwb'lynd³⁸ OL
ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't'³⁹ 7) cygwn KBD MNDOM swcynd W⁴⁰
wn'synd⁴¹ W m'n MN m'nyk'n⁴² W MTA MN MTAYk'n⁴³ W 'c'tyh W
wewlgyh⁴⁴ W dhywk'nyh⁴⁵ W dyn⁴⁶ l'styh W ptm'n⁴⁷ W⁴⁸ znh'l⁴⁹ W l'mšn W
hlwsp' dhšn⁵⁰ Y L⁵¹ 'whrmzd d't'⁵² W⁵³ ZNE dyn' pyck Y m'zdsn'n⁵⁴ W⁵⁵ 'thš
Y w'hl'm⁵⁶ PWN⁵⁷ d't' g's⁵⁸ nš'st⁵⁹ YKOYMWNYt' OL LOYTyh YHMTWNYt'⁶⁰
W⁶¹ znšn W 'p'lk'n⁶² BRA OL pyt'kyh YHMTWNYt'⁶³ 8) W ZK Y⁶⁴ wewlg

²⁹ K20 MS r. [...]LWNd.

³⁰ In DH followed by W.

³¹ DH om.

³² K20 MS r., gap.

³³ K20, in an area where the MS is partially ruined [...] (*nk*)*lw*. K43 *nklw*.

³⁴ K20 *kt'l*.

³⁵ K20 MS r. [...](*tw*)*št*.

³⁶ K20 MS r. *pyt'k* [...] *'twkyh*. DH and K43 *y'kyh*.

³⁷ K20 *BYN*.

³⁸ K20 *dwb't'nd*.

³⁹ K20 MS part. r. [...](*hr*)*mzd d't'*. DH *'whrm d't'*.

⁴⁰ DH om.

⁴¹ K20 *wn'synd*, DH *wn'snd*.

⁴² K20 presents an erasure followed by a lacuna that begins after *m'n-* and ends with the words *MN MTAk'n'n*.

⁴³ K20 *MTAk'n'n*; K43 *MTAYk'n* written twice, once over the line.

⁴⁴ K20 *wzlgyh*.

⁴⁵ K43 *y'k'nyh*.

⁴⁶ K20 MS r. *dhywk'nyh* [...](*n'*) *l'styh*.

⁴⁷ K20 *ptm'nyh*.

⁴⁸ K20 om.

⁴⁹ Recte *zynh'l*.

⁵⁰ K20 *dhšk*; K43 *dhšn gl*.

⁵¹ K43 om.

⁵² K20 MS r. [...] *mzd d't'*.

⁵³ K20 and K43 om.

⁵⁴ DH *m'zsn'n'*.

⁵⁵ K43 om.

⁵⁶ DH *wlhl'm*. K43 *wlhl'n*.

⁵⁷ K20 om.

⁵⁸ DH *d'tyh'*.

⁵⁹ K20 *nšst*.

⁶⁰ In K20 YHMTWNYt *W wlf'jm znšn*.

⁶¹ K43 om.

lwst'k⁶⁵ štr'l W ZK Y wclwlg štr'⁶⁶ MTA1⁶⁷ W ZK Y wclwlg⁶⁸ MTA dwtkl⁶⁹
W⁷⁰ ZK Y dwtk⁷¹ 'st'nk1⁷² BRA YHWWNyt. 9) spyt'm'n⁷³ zltwhšt PWN 'n'kyh
k'mkyh⁷⁴ W s'st'lyh W⁷⁵ dwš p'thš'yh⁷⁶ BRA HPLWNd⁷⁷ ZNE 'yl'n' MTA'n'
Y⁷⁸ L 'whrmzd d't'⁷⁹ 10) OLEš'n ŠDYA'n' Y⁸⁰ wc'lt wls⁸¹ plypt'l HWE⁸² AYK
ZK Y⁸³ YMRRWNd⁸⁴ LA OBYDWNd W SLYtl dyn HWE'd AYK⁸⁵ ZK Y⁸⁶
LA YMRRWNd OBYDWNd 11) APš'n⁸⁷ pšt⁸⁸ W ptm'n⁸⁹ W⁹⁰ l'styh⁹⁰ W
'dw'yn⁹¹ LOYT W⁹² zynh'l LA YHSNNd W PWN pšt⁹³ Y⁹⁴ OBYDWNd⁹⁵
QDM LA YKOYMWNd 12) PWN plypt'lyh⁹⁶ W 'c W dwš p'thš'yh BRA

⁶² Better *štr'n*.

⁶³ K20 MS r. *YHMTWN(d ZK Y)[...](lg) lwst'k*.

⁶⁴ DH om.

⁶⁵ DH *lwst'k*. K43 *lwst'k*.

⁶⁶ DH *štr'l*.

⁶⁷ K20 *MTA*.

⁶⁸ K20 MS r. *[...](l)[...]*.

⁶⁹ K43 *dwtl*.

⁷⁰ DH om.

⁷¹ DH and K20 *dwtkl*.

⁷² DH *štr'HNA*. K43 *štr'HNA*.

⁷³ K20 MS r. *[...](m'n) zltw(š)t*.

⁷⁴ DH and K43 *k'mkyh*. Better *n'k k'mkyh*.

⁷⁵ K20 and DH om.

⁷⁶ K20 MS part. r. *dwš (p')thš'yh*.

⁷⁷ K20 *YBLWNd*.

⁷⁸ DH om.

⁷⁹ K20 MS r. *yl'n MT(A'n Y)[...](h'rmzd) OLEš'n*.

⁸⁰ K20 and DH om.

⁸¹ In K20 follows *Y*.

⁸² K20 MS r. *plypt('l)[...] AYK*.

⁸³ K20 om.

⁸⁴ DH and K43 *mynnd*.

⁸⁵ K20 MS part. r. *HW(Ed) AYK*.

⁸⁶ DH presents an incomprehensible letter.

⁸⁷ K20 *W APš'n*.

⁸⁸ K20 *pwšt*.

⁸⁹ K20 om.

⁹⁰ In K20 follows *LOYT*.

⁹¹ K20 *'dwynek*.

⁹² K43 om.

⁹³ K20 *pwšt*.

⁹⁴ K20 and DH om.

⁹⁵ K20 MS part. r. *(OBYDWN)[...] QDM LA*.

⁹⁶ K20 *plypt'l*.

HPLWNd⁹⁷ ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y⁹⁸ L 'whrmzd d't'⁹⁹ 13) BYN¹⁰⁰ ZK 'wb'm¹⁰¹
spyt'm'n' zltwhšt' hm'k mltwm¹⁰² plypt'l BRA YHWWNd¹⁰³ AYK¹⁰⁴ 'ywk
OL¹⁰⁵ TWB l'd SLYA BOYHWN'd W mtr' wclwlg ywdt gwnk BRA
YHWWNyt¹⁰⁶ 14) W 'clm W dwš'lm¹⁰⁷ W lwb'n dwstyh MN gyh'n' BRA
OZLWNyt¹⁰⁸ 15) mtr' Y¹⁰⁹ AB' MN¹¹⁰ BRE W¹¹¹ bl't' MN¹¹² bl't'¹¹³ BRA
OZLWNyt W¹¹⁴ d'm't¹¹⁵ MN hwslw¹¹⁶ ywdt dys¹¹⁷ BRA YHWWNyt W¹¹⁸ m'tl
MN dwhtl¹¹⁹ ywdt'k W¹²⁰ ywdt k'mk¹²¹ BRA YHWWNyt¹²² 16) AMT stwzm
Y d'hm¹²³ Y LK sl YHWWNyt' spyt'm'n¹²⁴ zltwhšt¹²⁵ hwlšyt' l'sttl W nsgntl¹²⁶
W¹²⁷ ŠNT W¹²⁸ BYRH W¹²⁹ YWM kmtil¹³⁰ 17) W spndrmt' zmyk tngtl W l's¹³¹

⁹⁷ In DH follows *W*.

⁹⁸ K20 om.

⁹⁹ K20 om.

¹⁰⁰ In K20 and K43 preceded by *W*.

¹⁰¹ K20 MS part. r. *(w)[...]*.

¹⁰² K20 *ANŠWTA'n*.

¹⁰³ K20 MS part. r. *Y(H)[...]*.

¹⁰⁴ Here starts a lacuna in K20. It ends after the next *BOYHWWNd* and is not due to the present condition of the MS.

¹⁰⁵ K43 *OLE*.

¹⁰⁶ K43 *YHBWNyt*.

¹⁰⁷ K20 MS r. *dwš'lt[...]/lwb'n*.

¹⁰⁸ In K43 follows *W*.

¹⁰⁹ K20 om.

¹¹⁰ K20 ms. r., gap. DH om.

¹¹¹ DH om.

¹¹² DH om.

¹¹³ K20 *AH*.

¹¹⁴ K20 om.

¹¹⁵ K43 *d'm'yt*, written separately as *d'm AYT*.

¹¹⁶ In K43 follows *Y*.

¹¹⁷ K20 MS part. r. *ywdt'jk dys*, K43 *ywdtk dys*.

¹¹⁸ K43 om.

¹¹⁹ DH *dwhtl*.

¹²⁰ K20 and DH om.

¹²¹ K20 MS r. *ywdt k'm[...]*.

¹²² K20 and DH *YHWWNd*.

¹²³ K20 and DH *dhm*. Better *d'hwmm*.

¹²⁴ K20 MS r. *spyt[...](m'n)*.

¹²⁵ K43 *zltwhšt spyt'm'n sl YHWWNyt*.

¹²⁶ DH and K43 propose the phonetical reading *nyhngtl*.

¹²⁷ K20 om.

¹²⁸ K20 om.

¹²⁹ DH *BYRH W* added over the line.

nhngtl¹³² 18) W bl twhm BRA LA YHBWNyt' W¹³³ bl Y ywlt'k'n¹³⁴ PWN 10
8¹³⁵ BRA k'hyt' W 2 BRA 'pz'yt W ZK Y¹³⁶ BRA 'pz'yt spyt LA YHWWNyt'
19) W 'wlwl W¹³⁷ d'l W dlht¹³⁸ BRA k'hyt AMT' 100¹³⁹ BRA YNSEWNyt'¹⁴⁰
90 BRA k'hyt W¹⁴¹ 10 BRA¹⁴² 'pz'yt W ZK Y BRA 'pz'yt' hwlwm W c'snyk¹⁴³
LA YHWWNyt'¹⁴⁴ 20) W¹⁴⁵ mltwm kwtktl YLYDWNyt'¹⁴⁶ APš'n hwnl W
nylwk km W¹⁴⁷ plypt'ltl¹⁴⁸ SLYtl d'tl¹⁴⁹ YHWWNd W¹⁵⁰ sp's W 'clm Y
LHMA¹⁵¹ W nmk LA YHSNNd¹⁵² APš'n¹⁵³ dwš'im¹⁵⁴ PWN *dwtk¹⁵⁵ LA
YHSSNd¹⁵⁶. 21) W¹⁵⁷ BYN ZK Y wttwm 'wb'm' mwrwHNA¹⁵⁸ 'clm wyš
YHSNNyt'¹⁵⁹ AYK OLE 'yl Y¹⁶⁰ dyn' bwl'tl¹⁶¹ mltwm¹⁶² 22) APš'n dhšn PWN

k'l km' APš'n k'l W¹⁶³ krpk' MN YDE km SGYTWNyt W¹⁶⁴ hm'k sltk'n¹⁶⁵
W¹⁶⁶ ywdt kyš'n¹⁶⁷ OL OLEš'n 'n'kyh hw'st'l¹⁶⁸ YHWWNd. 23) W¹⁶⁹ hm'k¹⁷⁰
gyh'n ns'y¹⁷¹ nk'nyh W ns'y¹⁷² wstlšn BRA YHWWNyt' 24) W ns'y¹⁷³ nk'nytn'
W ns'y šwstn' W ns'y swhtn¹⁷⁴ OL MYA W¹⁷⁵ 'thš YBLWNtn' W ns'y¹⁷⁶
OŠTENtn¹⁷⁷ PWN¹⁷⁸ d't' ODHWNd W LA p'hlycynd¹⁷⁹ 25) PWN k'l W krpk
Y¹⁸⁰ wclwg hng'lynd W dlwndyh W¹⁸¹ l's Y¹⁸² dwšhw wyl'dynd¹⁸³ W 'p'lwn'yh
pnyh W wy'p'nyh¹⁸⁴ Y hyšm¹⁸⁵ W¹⁸⁶ 'c l'd OL dwšhw dwb'lynd¹⁸⁷. 26) W¹⁸⁸
BYN ZK Y¹⁸⁹ škpt¹⁹⁰ 'wb'm spyt'm'n' zltwhšt p'thš'yb¹⁹¹ Y¹⁹² hyšm¹⁹³ Y
hlwdlpš W¹⁹⁴ ŠDYA Y¹⁹⁵ wc'lt wls Y hyšm¹⁹⁶ twhm¹⁹⁷ ZK Y nytwm bwnyk

¹³⁰ K20 kwtktl.

¹³¹ K43 l'i, maybe an error for l'n.

¹³² The correct Pahlavi spelling would be *nsngtl*. Here we have a phonetic spelling.

¹³³ K20 Y.

¹³⁴ K20 ywlt'k'd'n.

¹³⁵ K20 Z. K43 g.

¹³⁶ DH om.

¹³⁷ DH om. In K43 preceded by Y.

¹³⁸ K43 dl'ht.

¹³⁹ DH and K43 1 100.

¹⁴⁰ K20 MS part. r. YN(S)[...]*lyt'*.

¹⁴¹ K43 om.

¹⁴² In DH follows L.

¹⁴³ K20 c'snyh.

¹⁴⁴ K20 and K43 YHBWWNyt.

¹⁴⁵ K43 om.

¹⁴⁶ K20 MS r. (YL)[...](AP)š'n. Better YLYDWNd.

¹⁴⁷ DH om.

¹⁴⁸ DH and K43 plypt'ltl.

¹⁴⁹ K43 SLYtl d'd'htl.

¹⁵⁰ K20 MS r. [...](s)p's.

¹⁵¹ DH LHMA.

¹⁵² K20 as YHDDHNNd.

¹⁵³ In K20 and K43 preceded by W.

¹⁵⁴ K20 MS part. r. dwš'lt'f'.

¹⁵⁵ DH, K20 and K43 present a graphy similar to that of the numeral 90. Anklesaria (1957, p. 22) suggest to read **pursagih* together with the preceding PWN. Widengren (1983, p. 124) proposes to read the Pth. word **sayōk*: *sywg*: 'orphan', which, in the transcription here employed would read *sēwag*. However the Pahlavi spelling does not fit this reading. The *dūdag* is only a tentative reading based on context.

¹⁵⁶ K20 YHWWNyt erased and corrected over the line YHSNNd.

¹⁵⁷ DH om.

¹⁵⁸ DH mwrw'y, clearly a phonetic reading for mwrwl.

¹⁵⁹ DH YHSNNyt'.

¹⁶⁰ Better W.

¹⁶¹ K20 dyn'bwl'tb'.

¹⁶² K20 ANŠWTA.

¹⁶³ K43 om.

¹⁶⁴ K43 om.

¹⁶⁵ K43 sltg'n.

¹⁶⁶ K20 om.

¹⁶⁷ DH ywdt k'š'n.

¹⁶⁸ K20 MS part. r. [...]*st'lt*.

¹⁶⁹ In K43 follows AMT, which could be an uncorrected error relative to the next word.

¹⁷⁰ K43 hmk.

¹⁷¹ DH ns'. K43 nns'y.

¹⁷² K20 skips W ns'y. K43 nns'y.

¹⁷³ K43 nns'y.

¹⁷⁴ DH ns'y swht. K43 skips W ns'y swhtn. K20 reads instead PWN d't' (s)w(h)tn'.

¹⁷⁵ DH om.

¹⁷⁶ K43 nns'y.

¹⁷⁷ K20 MS part. r. O(ŠTEN)tn'.

¹⁷⁸ K20 MS part. r. Pf.JN.

¹⁷⁹ K20 and K43 p'hlycynd.

¹⁸⁰ K20 om.

¹⁸¹ DH om.

¹⁸² K20 om. In K43 follows an erasure.

¹⁸³ K20 dwb'lyn'd.

¹⁸⁴ DH wy'p'nykyh.

¹⁸⁵ DH as hšm, a common form in this MS.

¹⁸⁶ In K43 preceded by Y.

¹⁸⁷ K43 dwb'lynd.

¹⁸⁸ DH om.

¹⁸⁹ DH om.

¹⁹⁰ K20 škwp.

¹⁹¹ K20 p'thš'yh. DH p'thš'ydyh.

¹⁹² DH and K43 om.

¹⁹³ DH hšm. K43 hysšm but corrected through diacritics.

¹⁹⁴ DH and K43 om.

PWN 'yl'n MTA'n' ANŠWTA'n¹⁹⁸ pr'c SGYTWNd 27) W dynyk'n¹⁹⁹ MNW 'yby'ngn PWN kwst d'lynd²⁰⁰ ADYNŠ'n²⁰¹ p'ty'pyb²⁰² d'stn²⁰³ LA twb'n 28) ME PWN ZK Y nytwm 'wb'm²⁰⁴ ns'y²⁰⁵ W hyhl²⁰⁶ 'wgwn²⁰⁷ KBD YHWWNyt AYK GBRA²⁰⁸ g'm OL g'm²⁰⁹ BRA HNHTWNyt²¹⁰ PWN ns'y²¹¹ SGYTWNyt' 29) 'yw'c²¹² AMT PWN blšnw²¹³ HLLWNyt' p'dy²¹⁴ MN mk BRA HNHTWNyt²¹⁵ PWN ns'y²¹⁶ SGYTWNyt' 30) 'yw'c²¹⁷ AMT PWN ns'y ktk²¹⁸ Y OLEŠ'n blswm PWN²¹⁹ pr'c wstlyt²²⁰ W dlwn pr'c ycyt' ŠLYTA YHWWNyt 31) 'yw'c²²¹ PWN ZK Y nytwm 'wb'm yčšn Y²²² PWN 2²²³ GBRA ŠLYTA²²⁴ YHWWNyt' krtn' OD ZNE dyn' PWN LOYTyh W nz'lyh LA²²⁵ YHMTWNyt' PWN 100²²⁶ PWN 1000²²⁷ PWN bywl 'ywk1 YHWWNyt MNW

PWN ZNE dyn' HYMNNTyt W ZKc²²⁸ Y²²⁹ HYMNNTyt²³⁰ k'l hčš LA OBYDWNyt W²³¹ 'thš Y w'hl'm²³² BRA²³³ OL LOYTyh²³⁴ W nz'lyh YHMTWNyt MN 1000²³⁵ LAWHL²³⁶ OL 'ywk²³⁷ p'hlycynd²³⁸ W²³⁹ ZKc²⁴⁰ 'ysm²⁴¹ W²⁴² bwd²⁴³ d'tyh' pš LA YHBWNd 32) 'yw'c²⁴⁴ AMT GBRA1²⁴⁵ yšt' krt' YKOYMWNTyt' W nylngst'n LA YDOYTWNTyt W²⁴⁶ PWN wyh mynšnykyb²⁴⁷ BRA 'plwcyt ŠLYTA YHWWNyt'. 33) bw'stk W²⁴⁸ 'clmyk²⁴⁹ hm'k BRA OL ywdt²⁵⁰ kyš'n W²⁵¹ ywdt' lystk'n²⁵² YHMTWNyt' 34) W krpkł²⁵³ Y nywk MN²⁵⁴ dwtk Y 'c't²⁵⁵ GBRA'n W²⁵⁶ mw mlt'n²⁵⁷ BRA²⁵⁸ OL²⁵⁹ wš't dwb'šnyh²⁶⁰ YKOYMWNTyt. 35) W²⁶¹ hwltk'n dwht Y 'c'tk'n W²⁶²

¹⁹⁵ K20 om.

¹⁹⁶ DH hšm.

¹⁹⁷ K20 twbm. In DH and K43 follows W.

¹⁹⁸ DH and K20 ANŠWTAyh. In K20 -šw- under a stain of ink.

¹⁹⁹ K43 BYN bndk'n.

²⁰⁰ K20 YHSNNd.

²⁰¹ K43 ADYNš.

²⁰² K43 p'tšy. K20 p'ty'dpyh.

²⁰³ K20 om.

²⁰⁴ K20 MS part. r. ('wb')m.

²⁰⁵ DH and K43 ns'y.

²⁰⁶ K20 hsl.

²⁰⁷ DH 'wgw.

²⁰⁸ K20 om.

²⁰⁹ K20 MS r., gap.

²¹⁰ DH HN'HTWNyt'.

²¹¹ K43 ns'y.

²¹² In K43 preceded by W. Better 'ywp.

²¹³ DH blswm. K20 MS part. r. (bls[.]m).

²¹⁴ K20 p'd. DH p'd.

²¹⁵ DH HN'HTWNyt'.

²¹⁶ K43 ns'y.

²¹⁷ Better 'ywp.

²¹⁸ K20 and K43 ns'y ktk.

²¹⁹ In DH preceded by BRA. K43 om.

²²⁰ K20 MS part. r. pr'c (.) ws(tly)t dlwn.

²²¹ Better 'ywp.

²²² DH om.

²²³ DH om.

²²⁴ DH p'thš'd, K43 p'thš'.

²²⁵ In DH written above the line.

²²⁶ DH and K43 1 100.

²²⁷ DH 1 1000.

²²⁸ K20 and DH ZKyc.

²²⁹ K20 and DH om.

²³⁰ K20 MS r. HM[...] k'l. The space following HM seems too small for the complete verbal form. Anklesaria suggests AMT (1957, p. 26).

²³¹ DH om.

²³² DH and K43 wthl'm.

²³³ In K20 preceded by Y.

²³⁴ K20 LOYT. DH LOYT Y.

²³⁵ K20 and K43 1 1000.

²³⁶ DH p'c.

²³⁷ DH 'dwynt.

²³⁸ K20 p'hlycynd. K43 p'hlycynd.

²³⁹ DH om.

²⁴⁰ DH and K43 followed by Y, K20 ZKyc.

²⁴¹ DH and K43 'sm.

²⁴² K20 om.

²⁴³ K43 presents the phonetic reading bwy, the pronunciation is shown by diacritics. K20 MS part. r. (b.)wd.

²⁴⁴ Better 'ywp.

²⁴⁵ DH GBRA Y 1.

²⁴⁶ K20 and K43 om.

²⁴⁷ K43 wyh mynšnyk. K20 ŠPYL mynšnyk. Better wyh mynšnyk.

²⁴⁸ K20 Y.

²⁴⁹ Better to emend 'clmykyh.

²⁵⁰ In K20 preceded by k.

²⁵¹ K20 and K43 om.

²⁵² K20 YHMTWNyt ywdt lystk'n. K43 l'stk'n.

²⁵³ K20 krpkł. K43 kpkgl.

²⁵⁴ In K43 preceded by an error, MN, which has been partially erased.

²⁵⁵ K43 'c't almost as t't.

²⁵⁶ K20 and DH om.

²⁵⁷ K20 -g mlt'n. K43 mw' mlt'n. Phonetical spelling, otherwise mgw mlt'n.

²⁵⁸ K20 om.

²⁵⁹ K20 om.

wcwl'g'n²⁶³ W²⁶⁴ mwg mlt'n²⁶⁵ PWN NYŠEyh OHdWNd 36) W²⁶⁶ 'c'tk'n W²⁶⁷
wcwl'g'n²⁶⁸ W²⁶⁹ mwg mlt'n²⁷⁰ BRA OL škwyh²⁷¹ bn'dkyh YHMTWNd W
znšn²⁷² W²⁷³ hwltk BRA OL wcwl'gyh W²⁷⁴ p'thš'yb YHMTWNd²⁷⁵ W 'c'lk'n
W bwl'tk'n' BRA OL pyšg'syb W²⁷⁶ l'dynyt'lyh²⁷⁷ YHMTWNd. 37) W gwbs'n'
Y²⁷⁸ dyn' bwl't'ln W mwdl W²⁷⁹ wcwl't W²⁸⁰ d'twb'l²⁸¹ Y l'st' gwbs'n' Y l'st'n'
W²⁸² ZKc²⁸³ Y²⁸⁴ 'hlwb'n' hngycny'g'n²⁸⁵ BRA YHWWNyt' gwbs'n' Y bwl'tk'n'
W spzg'n W²⁸⁶ 'p'ln'n²⁸⁷ W²⁸⁸ 'pswsgl'n²⁸⁹ W²⁹⁰ ZK Y KDBA d'tst'n'n l'st'²⁹¹
W w'pl'²⁹² YHSNNd 38) W²⁹³ swknd²⁹⁴ PWN KDBA ptš OŠTEND W²⁹⁵

²⁶⁰ K20 wš't dwb'šnhyh.

²⁶¹ DH om.

²⁶² K20 and DH om.

²⁶³ K43 wcwl'n. DH wc'šn'.

²⁶⁴ K20 and K43 om.

²⁶⁵ DH mw mlt'n'. Late spelling, otherwise mgw mlt'n.

²⁶⁶ DH om.

²⁶⁷ K20 om.

²⁶⁸ DH wcl'. K20 MS part. r. wcwl'g'(.).].

²⁶⁹ K43 om.

²⁷⁰ Late spelling, otherwise mgw mlt'n.

²⁷¹ DH škwds. K43 š'kwadyh.

²⁷² DH and K43 znš. Probably the best reading is znyn (> zny'n > znšn).

²⁷³ K20 om.

²⁷⁴ DH om.

²⁷⁵ DH and K43 YHMTWNyt'.

²⁷⁶ K20 om.

²⁷⁷ K20 MS part. r. l'dynyt'y[.].

²⁷⁸ DH om.

²⁷⁹ Better Y.

²⁸⁰ Better Y.

²⁸¹ K43 d'tbwl.

²⁸² K20 om.

²⁸³ DH and K20 ZKyc.

²⁸⁴ K20 and DH om.

²⁸⁵ K43 hngypny'g'n. Better 'n'wstygn.

²⁸⁶ DH om.

²⁸⁷ K43 'p'ln'n.

²⁸⁸ K20 om.

²⁸⁹ K20 'pswsk'l'n.

²⁹⁰ K20 om.

²⁹¹ K20 l'st.

²⁹² In DH followed by W.

²⁹³ K20 om.

²⁹⁴ K43 swkd. K20 MS part. r. sw'knd [?] (P)WN.

zwlgwk'dyyh²⁹⁶ ptš YHBWNd W zwl²⁹⁷ W²⁹⁸ 'n'st²⁹⁹ QDM L 'wbrmzd
YMLLWNd³⁰⁰ 39) OLEš'n' MNW PWN bylptyh³⁰¹ W³⁰² h'wštyh ŠM YBLWNd
'ywk OL³⁰³ TWB l'd SLYA³⁰⁴ BOYHWNd W 'hwk³⁰⁵ YMLLWNd³⁰⁶ W 'hwk³⁰⁷
QDM nkylynd³⁰⁸ APš'n 'hlmn³⁰⁹ W³¹⁰ ŠDYA³¹¹ pty'lk QDM³¹² wys³¹³
YBLWNt³¹⁴ YKOYMWNYt³¹⁵ 40) W³¹⁶ MN wn's Y mltwm'n³¹⁷ OBYDWNd
MN³¹⁸ 5 wn's 3 wn's bylpt'n³¹⁹ W b'wšt'n' OBYDWNd W ŠPYL'n dwšmyn³²⁰
YHWWNd AYK 'ywk OL³²¹ TWB l'd SLYA 'hwk³²² ptš YMLLWNd³²³ W
ycšn³²⁴ ptglynd LA OBYDWNd W³²⁵ bym MN dwšhw LA YHSNNd 41) W
BYN ZK³²⁶ Y³²⁷ d'hwmm³²⁸ stwzm³²⁹ Y³³⁰ hc'lk Y³³¹ LK sl YHWWNyt'

²⁹⁵ K43 om.

²⁹⁶ K43 zwlk'dyyh. In DH follows Y.

²⁹⁷ K43 'pl.

²⁹⁸ DH om.

²⁹⁹ K20 'n'stk.

³⁰⁰ K20 YMRWNd.

³⁰¹ K20 hylpt.

³⁰² DH om.

³⁰³ DH and K43 OLE.

³⁰⁴ DH and K43 SLYAyh.

³⁰⁵ K20 'hw'k.

³⁰⁶ K20 YMRWNd.

³⁰⁷ K20 'hw'k'.

³⁰⁸ K20 nkylyn'd. K43 nkyln'd.

³⁰⁹ In DH and K43 this name is written upside down.

³¹⁰ DH and K43 om.

³¹¹ In K20 followed by W.

³¹² K43 QDMš.

³¹³ K43 om.

³¹⁴ DH YBLWNd.

³¹⁵ K20 MS part. r. YKOYMWNY[.] MN.

³¹⁶ DH twice. K43 om.

³¹⁷ K20 ANŠWTA'n.

³¹⁸ DH om.

³¹⁹ K20 MS r. [-]lpt'n.

³²⁰ In K20 dwšmyn preceded by ZNE which has then been erased.

³²¹ DH and K43 OLE.

³²² K20 and DH 'hw'k.

³²³ K20 YMRWNd.

³²⁴ K20 MS r. YMRWNd (yc)šn.

³²⁵ DH and K43 om.

³²⁶ K43 om.

³²⁷ DH and K20 om.

³²⁸ K20 dhwmm. K43 d'hwmm.

spyt'm'n³²² zltwhšt hm'k mltwm 'c³²³ plyst W³²⁴ hw'stk³²⁵ dyn' BRA
YHWWNd³²⁶ 42) W 'brl³²⁷ Y k'mk'l³²⁸ W w't Y 'lt'y³²⁹ PWN hng'm³³⁰ W
zm'n Y NPŠE³⁴¹ w'l'n³⁴² krt'n' LA š'y't³⁴³ 43) W hm'k³⁴⁴ 'sm'n³⁴⁵ 'bl Y³⁴⁶ nyzm
špynyt³⁴⁷ 44) W ZK Y³⁴⁸ glm w't W³⁴⁹ ZK Y slt' w't' YHMTWNYt W bl W
twhm Y ywlt'y'n³⁵⁰ BRA YBLWNYt' 45) w'l'nc³⁵¹ PWN³⁵² hng'm Y NPŠE³⁵³
LA w'lyt ZKc³⁵⁴ Y³⁵⁵ w'lyt hlpstl³⁵⁶ wys³⁵⁷ w'lyt' AYK MYA 46) W³⁵⁸ MYA³⁵⁹
Y³⁶⁰ lwt'n³⁶¹ W h'nyk'n BRA³⁶² k'hyt³⁶³ W 'pz'dšn BRA LA YHWWNYt'

³²⁹ In DH the word is corrected above the line.

³³⁰ K20 om.

³³¹ K20 om.

³³² K20 'hlwb'.

³³³ K20 MN Y.

³³⁴ K20 om.

³³⁵ In K43 preceded by gw, possibly an error which has not been erased.

³³⁶ K20 bwnd.

³³⁷ K20 AYK 'ywk W 'br. K43 W 'br.

³³⁸ K20 k'mkk'l.

³³⁹ In DH preceded by the erasure of 'hlwb'.

³⁴⁰ K20 MS part. r. [.]wb'm.

³⁴¹ K43 PŠE.

³⁴² In K43 preceded by w'l', clearly an error which has not been erased.

³⁴³ K20 presents a correction.

³⁴⁴ K43 AMT.

³⁴⁵ In K43 'ym'n followed by W.

³⁴⁶ K20 and DH om.

³⁴⁷ DH reads only -nyt.

³⁴⁸ DH om.

³⁴⁹ K43 om.

³⁵⁰ DH and K43 ywlt'y'n.

³⁵¹ K20 and DH w'lyhyc.

³⁵² K20 MS part. r. (PWN).

³⁵³ In K20 followed by W.

³⁵⁴ K20 ZKyc.

³⁵⁵ K20 om.

³⁵⁶ DH substitutes to ZKc w'lyt hlpstl only W hlpstl. K43 hlpstl.

³⁵⁷ K20 MS r. [.]š.

³⁵⁸ K43 om.

³⁵⁹ DH and K43 om.

³⁶⁰ DH om.

³⁶¹ DH lwt.

³⁶² DH and K43 om.

³⁶³ K20 MS part. r. [.]('h)yt.

47) W stwl W³⁶⁴ TWRA W³⁶⁵ gwspnd³⁶⁶ kwtkl³⁶⁷ YLYDWNd W wt hwnltl
YLYDWNd³⁶⁸ W b'l km YNSBWNd³⁶⁹ W mwd³⁷⁰ kmll³⁷¹ W³⁷² pwst' tawktl W
šyl LA 'pz'yt W clbšt' km YHSNNyt' 48) W³⁷³ TWRA wlc'k nylwk³⁷⁴ km W
SWSYA Y³⁷⁵ 'lwnd³⁷⁶ hwnl km PWN t'k³⁷⁷ km YBLWNYt³⁷⁸ 49) W mltwm³⁷⁹
PWN ZK Y³⁸⁰ škwpt³⁸¹ 'wb'm spyt'm'n zltwhšt MNW kwstyk PWN³⁸² mdy'n
YHSNNd 'n'kyh hw'st'lyh³⁸³ Y dwš p'thš'yh³⁸⁴ W KBD ZK Y³⁸⁵ KDBA
d'tst'n³⁸⁶ ZYš QDM mt' YKOYMWNYt' ZYš'n zywndkyh BYN³⁸⁷ LA 'p'yt³⁸⁸
mlgyh PWN 'dypt' BOYHWN'd' 50)³⁸⁹ W³⁹⁰ yw'b'n'n W 'pln'd'n pym mynšn'
BRA YHWWNd APŠ'n wdwpsšn'yk³⁹¹ w'cyk³⁹² W l'mšn MN dyl QDM LA
YATWNYt³⁹³ 51) W yšn W nh'tk Y pyšynk'n³⁹⁴ W 'wswplyt³⁹⁵ Y yzd'n W³⁹⁶

³⁶⁴ DH om.

³⁶⁵ K20 om.

³⁶⁶ K20 KYNA.

³⁶⁷ K20 MS r. (kw)[.]l.

³⁶⁸ Only in DH, but written above the line.

³⁶⁹ In DH preceded by the erasure of two letters.

³⁷⁰ In DH and K43, with diacritics, mwy.

³⁷¹ In K20 miswritten and twice corrected in a partially ruined area of the MS.

³⁷² K20 om.

³⁷³ K20 om.

³⁷⁴ K20 nylwk, written almost as nylywk.

³⁷⁵ K20 om.

³⁷⁶ DH 'lwd.

³⁷⁷ K20 MS part. r. t'f./.

³⁷⁸ In K43 preceded by YBLWNYt which has been erased.

³⁷⁹ K20 ANŠWTA.

³⁸⁰ DH and K43 om.

³⁸¹ DH and K43 škpt'.

³⁸² In K20 preceded by M.

³⁸³ K43 hw'st'ly. Better h'k hw'st'lyh.

³⁸⁴ K43 dwš p'thš'dyh.

³⁸⁵ K20 and K43 om.

³⁸⁶ Better d'tst'n'n.

³⁸⁷ DH and K43 om.

³⁸⁸ K20 MS r. 'pyf./ W. K43 followed by W. Recte 'p'dyt.

³⁸⁹ K43 presents a lacuna that ends with .jdwpsšn'.

³⁹⁰ DH repeats twice.

³⁹¹ In DH -yk is added in smaller characters above the line. K20 and K43 dwpsšn'.

³⁹² K43 w'yc'k.

³⁹³ In DH thrice miswritten and finally corrected above the line.

³⁹⁴ K20 pyšynk'n. K43 pyš'nk'n.

³⁹⁵ DH reads 'wstwplyt' where -s- is corrected to -st- above the line; K43 'wstwplyt.

³⁹⁶ K20 om.

yšt' W yčšn W³⁹⁷ g's'nb'l W plwlytk'n gyw'k gyw'k³⁹⁸ OBYDWNd³⁹⁹ W ZKc⁴⁰⁰
Y⁴⁰¹ OBYDWNd ptš 'pygwm'nyh' LA HYMNND⁴⁰² 52) W⁴⁰³ p'td'sn⁴⁰⁴ d'tyh'
LA YHBWNd W d'sn' W⁴⁰⁵ 'hlwbd't' LA YHBWNd W⁴⁰⁶ ZKc⁴⁰⁷ Y⁴⁰⁸
YHBWNd⁴⁰⁹ LAWHL 'phš'dnd⁴¹⁰ 53) W ZKc⁴¹¹ Y⁴¹² wyh dyn⁴¹³ mltwm MNW
ZNE⁴¹⁴ dyn' Y⁴¹⁵ wyh⁴¹⁶ Y⁴¹⁷ m'zdysn⁴¹⁸ n⁴¹⁹ st'yt⁴²⁰ YKOYMWNYt PWN ZK Y
OLEŠ'n l's W lstk⁴²¹ blhmk lwbšn⁴²² pr'c SGYTWNd APŠ'n PWN⁴²³ ZK Y
NPŠE dyn' LA HYMNND⁴²⁴ 54) W 'c't' W wewlg W d'hk'n⁴²⁵ Y nywk⁴²⁶ MN
MTA W gyw'k Y NPŠE PWN 'wedykyh⁴²⁷ MN⁴²⁸ bwn⁴²⁹ gyw'k W dwtk Y
NPŠE BRA OZLWNd⁴³⁰ W⁴³¹ MN hwltk'n W⁴³² SLYtl'n MNDOM⁴³³ PWN

³⁹⁷ K20 om.

³⁹⁸ DH om.

³⁹⁹ K20 MS part. r. OBYDW[...].

⁴⁰⁰ DH and K20 ZKyc.

⁴⁰¹ K20 and DH om.

⁴⁰² K20 initial d corrected to H.

⁴⁰³ K20 om.

⁴⁰⁴ K20 p'td'sn.

⁴⁰⁵ K43 Y.

⁴⁰⁶ DH om.

⁴⁰⁷ K20 and DH ZKyc.

⁴⁰⁸ K20 and DH om.

⁴⁰⁹ K20 om.

⁴¹⁰ K43 'pysš'dn'd. Better 'phšyhynd.

⁴¹¹ K20 ZKyc.

⁴¹² K20 and DH om.

⁴¹³ K20 ŠPYL dyn'.

⁴¹⁴ K20 om.

⁴¹⁵ K43 om.

⁴¹⁶ K20 MS part. r. ŠP(Y)[...]. DH om.

⁴¹⁷ DH and K43 om.

⁴¹⁸ DH m'zdyh. K43 m'zdysn'n.

⁴¹⁹ Better st'yt.

⁴²⁰ Better lystk.

⁴²¹ K20 lwbšn corrected through diacritics. Better lwbšnyh.

⁴²² K20 om.

⁴²³ K43 HYMNNYt.

⁴²⁴ Better dhywk'n.

⁴²⁵ K43 nyw. In DH preceded by the erasure of a word.

⁴²⁶ K20 'wedyk. Recte 'wedhykyh.

⁴²⁷ DH and K43 MNW.

⁴²⁸ In K20 follows W.

⁴²⁹ K20 MS part. r. OZLW(N)[...].

⁴³⁰ K20 om.

nyd'c BOYHWNd⁴³³ OL dlywšy⁴³⁴ W 'c'lykh YHMTWNd 55) ZNE⁴³⁵ mltwm
PWN 10 9 PWN kwst Y 'p'htl BRA 'psyhynd⁴³⁶ 56) PWN OLEŠ'n dwš
hwt'y⁴³⁷ KRA MNDOM OL LOYTyh W 'c'lykh W spwkyh⁴³⁸ W⁴³⁹ 'nstkyh⁴⁴⁰
YHMTWNYt 57) W spndrmt' zmyk PWME LAWHL⁴⁴¹ ŠLYTWNYt⁴⁴² W⁴⁴³
KRA gwhl W⁴⁴⁴ 'ywkšwt⁴⁴⁵ OL pyt'kyh YHMTWNYt⁴⁴⁶ cygwn⁴⁴⁷ ZHBA W⁴⁴⁸
'sym W lwd⁴⁴⁹ W 'lcyc W⁴⁵⁰ slp⁴⁵¹ 58) W hwt'y⁴⁵² W⁴⁵³ p'thš'dyh⁴⁵⁴ OL
'n'yl'n⁴⁵⁵ hwnyk'n⁴⁵⁶ lsyt' cygwn⁴⁵⁷ hywn⁴⁵⁸ twlk W htwl W twpyt' cygwn
hndlk⁴⁵⁹ W⁴⁶⁰ kwpyl W cyn'yh⁴⁶¹ W⁴⁶² k'pwlyh⁴⁶³ W swptyk W⁴⁶⁴ hlwm'yk W

⁴³¹ K43 om.

⁴³² In DH preceded by the erasure of ME.

⁴³³ In K43 preceded by YHBWNd.

⁴³⁴ K20 MS part. r. dlyw(š)[...].

⁴³⁵ IN K20 preceded by PWN OLEŠ'n.

⁴³⁶ DH and K43 'psyhynd.

⁴³⁷ K20 MS part. r. PWN OLE(š)[...] (hwt'y).

⁴³⁸ K43 stwkyh, possibly a very deteriorated spw'kyh.

⁴³⁹ K43 om.

⁴⁴⁰ DH nystkyh; K20 MS part. r. (?)nstkyh; K43 om. Better 'n'styh or 'n'stkyh.

⁴⁴¹ K20 'p'c.

⁴⁴² K20 MS part. r. (š)LY(.W)NYt.

⁴⁴³ K20 om.

⁴⁴⁴ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁴⁵ K20 'ywkšst. K43 'ywdwst.

⁴⁴⁶ K43 YATWNYt.

⁴⁴⁷ DH cygw.

⁴⁴⁸ DH om.

⁴⁴⁹ In K43, with diacritics, lwy.

⁴⁵⁰ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁵¹ K43 om. Better swlp.

⁴⁵² K20 hwt'y.

⁴⁵³ K20 om.

⁴⁵⁴ K20 p'thš'y. DH as p'thšš'y.

⁴⁵⁵ K20 om.

⁴⁵⁶ K43 bndk'n.

⁴⁵⁷ DH cygw.

⁴⁵⁸ DH and K43 hyw or hyn.

⁴⁵⁹ Better to read hndwk. Another possible reading is 'ndlk. See Commentary.

⁴⁶⁰ K20 om.

⁴⁶¹ Better cynyk.

⁴⁶² DH om.

⁴⁶³ In K43 written twice once above the other. Better k'pwlyk.

⁴⁶⁴ DH and K43 om.

klmkī't⁴⁶⁵ W⁴⁶⁶ spyt hywn PWN 'yl'n⁴⁶⁷ MTA'n Y⁴⁶⁸ L p'thš'dyh⁴⁶⁹ YHWWNd
plm'n W⁴⁷⁰ k'mk⁴⁷¹ Y OLEŠ'n PWN gyh'n lwb'k⁴⁷² BRA⁴⁷³ YHWWNyt
59) p'thš'dyh⁴⁷⁴ MN⁴⁷⁵ OLEŠ'n dwb'l⁴⁷⁶ kwstyk'n⁴⁷⁷ W t'cyk'n W⁴⁷⁸
hlwm'dyk'n⁴⁷⁹ BRA OL OLEŠ'n YHMTWNyt⁴⁸⁰ 60) OLEŠ'n⁴⁸¹ 'ytwn⁴⁸² dwš
p'thš'yh⁴⁸³ BRA YHWWNd⁴⁸⁴ AYK⁴⁸⁵ AMT⁴⁸⁶ GBRA1 'hlwb⁴⁸⁷ Y nywk
YKTLWNd mksl PWN šm Y⁴⁸⁸ OLEŠ'n' KRA 2 'ywk YHWWNyt 61) W
dlp's⁴⁸⁹ W hngtyh W 'p'tyh W MTA W dwtk W hw'stk W⁴⁹⁰ dstkrt W kts⁴⁹¹ W
lwt W⁴⁹² h'nyk Y 'yl'n ŠPYL dyn'n⁴⁹³ OL OLEŠ'n 'n'yl'n⁴⁹⁴ lsyt W sp'h⁴⁹⁵ W
mlc W⁴⁹⁶ dlp' OL OLEŠ'n⁴⁹⁷ YHMTWNyt' W hyšm k'mkyh⁴⁹⁸ hwt'yh⁴⁹⁹ PWN

⁴⁶⁵ Can also be read *klmkīdyt*. In K43 *kmkī't*. Better *klmīl hywn*.

⁴⁶⁶ DH om.

⁴⁶⁷ DH 'n 'yl'n which can be read both as *ān ērān* and as *anērān*. Another possible reading is 'w 'yl'n: *ō ērān*.

⁴⁶⁸ K20 om.

⁴⁶⁹ K20 MS part. r. [...](t)hš'yh. DH as p'thš'yh. Better p'thš'd.

⁴⁷⁰ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁷¹ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁷² K20 MS r. [...]b'k.

⁴⁷³ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁷⁴ K20 p'thš'yh. DH as p'thš'yh.

⁴⁷⁵ DH and K43 MNW.

⁴⁷⁶ In K43 preceded by 'ytwn'.

⁴⁷⁷ K20 MS part. r. [...](st)yk'n.

⁴⁷⁸ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁷⁹ DH *hlwm'yn*. K43 *hlwm'yn*.

⁴⁸⁰ K20 *lsyt*.

⁴⁸¹ K43 om.

⁴⁸² K43 om.

⁴⁸³ DH as *dwš p'thš'yh*. K43 as *dwš p'thš'dyhyh*. Possibly a plural but better *dwš p'thš'd*.

⁴⁸⁴ DH and K43 YHWWNd.

⁴⁸⁵ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁸⁶ K43 MNW.

⁴⁸⁷ DH and K43 om. Better Y 'hlwb'.

⁴⁸⁸ K20 and DH om.

⁴⁸⁹ In DH preceded by *dl*, in K43 by *W dlw*.

⁴⁹⁰ DH om.

⁴⁹¹ DH and K43 *kt's*.

⁴⁹² K20 om.

⁴⁹³ K43 reads *ŠPYL'n*. In K20 *SPYL dyn'n* preceded by *W*.

⁴⁹⁴ K20 *nyl'n*.

⁴⁹⁵ DH and K43 *sp'h*.

⁴⁹⁶ K20 om.

⁴⁹⁷ K43 *OLEŠ'*.

gyh'n' SGYTWNd 62) W 'c šm Y⁵⁰⁰ OLEŠ'n MN⁵⁰¹ hw'stk MALE⁵⁰² LA
YHWWNyt' W hw'stk Y⁵⁰³ gyh'n glt' OBYDWNd W 'cyl Y zmyk⁵⁰⁴ nyh'n
OBYDWNd 63) W⁵⁰⁵ dlwndyh l'd kwnmlc W⁵⁰⁶ dšt'n'mlc⁵⁰⁷ Y KBD OBYDWNd
W wln Y 'p'lwn' KBD wlycnd 64) W⁵⁰⁸ BYN ZK Y škwpt⁵⁰⁹ 'wb'm LYLYA
lwšntl W⁵¹⁰ ŠNT W⁵¹¹ BYRH W⁵¹² YWM 3 'ywk⁵¹³ BRA k'hyt⁵¹⁴ W⁵¹⁵
spndrmt zmyk QDM YATWNyt W syc⁵¹⁶ mlgyh W⁵¹⁷ nyd'c'wmndyh⁵¹⁸ PWN
gyh'n s'httl⁵¹⁹ YHWWNyt'. 65) gwptš 'whrmzd OL spyt'm'n zltwhšt ZNE ZK
Y LOYN YMRRWNm⁵²⁰ 66) OLE dlwnd⁵²¹ gnn'k⁵²² mynwk AMT⁵²³ BRA
'p'yt' 'pshynyt⁵²⁴ sthmbktl⁵²⁵ dwš p'thš'dyhtl⁵²⁶ YHWWNyt 67) 'ytwn⁵²⁷
gwpt⁵²⁸ 'whrmzd OL spyt'm'n⁵²⁹ zltwhšt⁵³⁰ AYK BRA YPLHWN⁵³¹ wlm⁵³²

⁴⁹⁸ Meglio *hyšm k'mk*.

⁴⁹⁹ K20 and DH *hwt'yh*. Better *W dwš hwt'yh*.

⁵⁰⁰ DH and K43 om.

⁵⁰¹ K43 omits, we read instead the letter *c* possibly standing for 'c.

⁵⁰² DH *pwl*.

⁵⁰³ K20 om.

⁵⁰⁴ K20 MS r. 'cyl [...]yk.

⁵⁰⁵ DH om.

⁵⁰⁶ In K20 preceded by *OBYDWNd*.

⁵⁰⁷ K20 MS part. r. *dšt'n (mlc) KBD*.

⁵⁰⁸ K43 om.

⁵⁰⁹ K43 *škwpt*.

⁵¹⁰ K43 om.

⁵¹¹ K20 om.

⁵¹² DH om.

⁵¹³ K20 *2 'ywk*.

⁵¹⁴ In K43 wrongly vocalized *k'hyt*.

⁵¹⁵ K20 and K43 om.

⁵¹⁶ K43 *sc*.

⁵¹⁷ DH om.

⁵¹⁸ K20 MS part. r. *nyd'c'wmnd[...]*.

⁵¹⁹ K43 *s'httl*.

⁵²⁰ K20 and DH *YMRWNm*.

⁵²¹ K20 *dlwnd*.

⁵²² DH and K43 *gn'k*.

⁵²³ Better *MNW*.

⁵²⁴ K20 *'psdytn'*.

⁵²⁵ In DH preceded by *sthm*, at the end of a page, clearly a repetition due to lack of space.

⁵²⁶ K20 *dwš p'thš'j'jl* DH *dwš p'thš'dl*.

⁵²⁷ In DH and K43 follows *wyh*.

⁵²⁸ K43 *gwptš*.

⁵²⁹ K20 as *zypt'm'n*.

⁵³⁰ Here DH reads *zltwhšt* as commonly does K20.

BRA OBYDWN⁵³³ PWN znd p'cnd W⁵³⁴ wc'lsn' BRA c's OL hylpt'n⁵³⁵ W
b'wšt'n YMLLWN⁵³⁶ W⁵³⁷ PWN gyh'n pr'c YMLLWNd⁵³⁸ OLEš'n⁵³⁹ MNW
MN stwzm LA 'k's HWEd ADYNs'n YMLLWNd⁵⁴⁰ 'dmyt⁵⁴¹ Y⁵⁴² tn' Y⁵⁴³
psyn' l'd bwb't'lyh Y⁵⁴⁴ lwb'n Y⁵⁴⁵ NPŠE⁵⁴⁶ l'd hlg W⁵⁴⁷ 'n'kyb pty'lk⁵⁴⁸ Y
OLEš'n ywdt' dyn'n W⁵⁴⁹ dyw'ysn'n⁵⁵⁰ QDM OHdWNd BRA YBLWNd
68) APt ZNEc⁵⁵¹ YMLLWNm⁵⁵² spyt'm'n zltwbšt AYK MNW PWN ZK 'wb'm
tn' BOYHWN'yt' lwb'n bwb'tn' LA twb'n' ME tn⁵⁵³ plpyh lwb'n⁵⁵⁴ krs⁵⁵⁵ nz'l
PWN dwšhw MNW⁵⁵⁶ lwb'n BOYHWN'yt tn' krs⁵⁵⁷ nz'l PWN gytidy⁵⁵⁸ škwł⁵⁵⁹
W dlywš⁵⁶⁰ APš⁵⁶¹ lwb'n plpyh PWN wbšt'

⁵³¹ K20, very badly written *SPLHWN'*. DH *YPLHW*. K43 *SPLHWN'*. Probably a miswriting or an incomprehension for *be xwān*: "read", "recite", "study".

⁵³² DH *wrm*. K20 presents an erasure in the middle of the word.

⁵³³ DH *OBYDW*. K43 *OBYDWNd*.

⁵³⁴ DH om.

⁵³⁵ In K20 the final -h is crossed out.

⁵³⁶ K20 *YMRWN*; K43 *YMLLWNd*.

⁵³⁷ K20 and K43 om.

⁵³⁸ K20 *YMRWN(d)*.

⁵³⁹ DH om.

⁵⁴⁰ K20 *YMRWN OD* which could also be read *YMRWNd*. K43 *YMRWNd OD*.

⁵⁴¹ K20 *'hmyt*. DH *'hmyt*.

⁵⁴² DH om.

⁵⁴³ DH om.

⁵⁴⁴ K20 om.

⁵⁴⁵ DH and K43 om.

⁵⁴⁶ DH and K43 om.

⁵⁴⁷ DH om.

⁵⁴⁸ K20 *pty'hlk*.

⁵⁴⁹ K43 om.

⁵⁵⁰ K20 doubtful, possibly *dyw'dysn'n*. DH *dywys'n'n*. K43 *dywys'n'n*.

⁵⁵¹ K20 *ZNEyc*.

⁵⁵² K20 *YMRWNm*. DH *YMRWNm*.

⁵⁵³ K20, wrongly, *PWN*.

⁵⁵⁴ In K20 and K43 preceded by *W*.

⁵⁵⁵ In K43 followed by *W*.

⁵⁵⁶ In K43 preceded by *W*.

⁵⁵⁷ In K43 followed by *W*.

⁵⁵⁸ K20 *gytyk*.

⁵⁵⁹ K43 om.

⁵⁶⁰ K43 om.

⁵⁶¹ K43 om.

CHAPTER FIVE

1) pwrst¹ zltwbšt MN 'whrmzd² AYK 'whrmzd² mynwk Y³ 'pzwnyk⁴ d't'l
Y⁵ gyh'n 'st'wmnd'n⁶ 'hlwb'⁷ HWEt 'wbrmzd⁸ PWN 'hlwb' KLYTWNšn W
'p'ryk PWN st'dšn⁹ AYT' MNW d't'l 'hlwb' YMLLWNyt⁹ d't'l PWN¹⁰ ZK Y¹¹
škt¹² 'wb'm 'hlwb' YHWWNd W dyn'yk¹³ YHWWNd MNW kwstyk¹⁴ PWN
mdy'n YHSNNd W dyn' PWN blswm¹⁵ YDBHWNd APš'n dyn' Y hwytwkds¹⁶
PWN dwtk SGYTWNyt'. 2) gwptš 'wbrmzd¹⁷ OL spyt'm'n¹⁷ zltwbšt AYK
GBRA'n Y p'hlwm ZK YHWWNyt MNW BYN ZK¹⁸ Y¹⁹ škwpt²⁰ 'wb'm
kwstyk PWN²¹ mdy'n²² YHSNNyt²³ W dyn' PWN blswm YDBHWNyt²⁴ LA
PWN bwt'ywb²⁵ wšt'sp šh 3) MNW BYN ZK Y škwpt 'wb'm iθā āt yazamaidē
u ašām wohū²⁶ BRA²⁷ YMRWNyt²⁸ wlm krt' YKOYMWNYt' 'ytwn' cygwn BYN

Chapter Five

¹ K20 *pwrst*.

² DH om. In K20 follows *Y*.

³ K20 om.

⁴ K43 *'pzwnyk*.

⁵ K20 om.

⁶ DH and K43 *'stwmnd'n*. In K20 follows *Y*.

⁷ K43 *'hlwb'n*.

⁸ DH *st'dšn*.

⁹ K20 *YMRWNyt*.

¹⁰ K43 om.

¹¹ K20 om.

¹² K20 *škwpt*.

¹³ K20 *dyn'yk'n*.

¹⁴ K20 MS part. r. [...]*styk*.

¹⁵ K43 *blsw'm*.

¹⁶ K20 MS part r. [...]*(h)wytwkds*. In DH and K43 the final letter resembles a *š*.

¹⁷ K20 om. and reads, instead, *Y*.

¹⁸ DH om.

¹⁹ K20 om.

²⁰ K43 *škwpt*.

²¹ DH and K43 om.

²² DH and K43 om.

²³ DH and K43 *YHSNNd*.

²⁴ DH and K43 *YDBHWNd*.

²⁵ DH and K20 *hwt'yl*.

²⁶ Thus K43. K20 *yt' š yzm šm whwk1*. DH *iθā āt yazamaidē ašām wohū*.

²⁷ DH and K43 om.

²⁸ DH and K43 om. Better *YMRWNyt*.

hwt'y²⁹ y³⁰ wšt's³¹ šh dw'cdh hwm'st³² Y³³ PWN zwhl 4) W³⁴ MNWš yšt'
 krt' YKOYMWNYt' W³⁵ g's'n slwt' YKOYMWNYt'³⁶ 'wgwn³⁷ cygwn AMTš³⁸
 PWN³⁹ hwt'y⁴⁰ Y⁴¹ wšt's⁴² šh yšt' w'c⁴³ slwt' g's'n YHWWNYt'⁴⁴ HWEh.
 5) 'hlwh Y 'hlwb'n⁴⁵ Y⁴⁶ p'hlwm ZK YHWWNYt' MNW PWN ŠPYL dyn' Y⁴⁷
 m'zdysn'n⁴⁸ YKOYMWNYt' APš dyn' Y hwytwkds⁴⁹ PWN dwtk SGYTWNYt'
 6) gwptš⁵⁰ 'whrmzd AYK⁵¹ spyt'm'n⁵² zltwhšt BYN ZNE 9 1000 ŠNT Y L
 'whrmzd d't mltwm Y⁵³ BYN ZK Y⁵⁴ škwpt⁵⁵ 'wh'm škwpttl⁵⁶ YHWWNd
 7) ME BYN dwš hwt'y⁵⁷ Y⁵⁸ 'cydh'k⁵⁹ W⁶⁰ pl'sy'p⁶¹ Y⁶² twl ANŠWTA⁶³ Y⁶⁴

BYN⁶⁵ ZK Y⁶⁶ škwpt⁶⁷ 'wh'm wyh zywsntl W⁶⁸ wyš zywsntl YHWWNYt'⁶⁹
 HWE d APš'n' pty'lk MN 'hlmn⁷⁰ W⁷¹ ŠDYA'n kmntl YHWWNYt'⁷² 8) ME⁷³
 BYN ZK Y OLEš'n dwš hwt'y⁷⁴ BYN 'yl'n štr' gyw'k⁷⁵ W⁷⁶ MTA Y 'pyl'n'
 LA YHWWNYt' cygwn ZK Y⁷⁷ AMT' hc'lk Y⁷⁸ LK sl YHWWNYt' spyt'm'n
 zltwhšt 9) ME⁷⁹ hm'k 'yl'n⁸⁰ MTA'n PWN 'sp swmh' OLEš'n' BRA
 HPLWNYht' OLEš'n dlpš BYN OL ptšhw'lg⁸¹ YHMTWNYt' W g's Y⁸² dyn'
 st'hm⁸³ p'thš'dyh⁸⁴ MN TME BRA YBLWNd APš'n' znšn' MN⁸⁵ ZK gyw'k
 YHMTWNYt' 10) spyt'm'n zltwhšt ZNE ZK Y LOYN' YMLLWNm⁸⁶
 11) MNW MN AYT'n⁸⁷ 'ytwn' PWN yčšn QDM OL ŠPYL MNW⁸⁸ 'whrmzd
 l'd yčšn' wyš OBYDWNyt' 'whrmzd' k's MN 'hl'dyh⁸⁹ cyk'mcHD⁹⁰ AYK k'l W⁹¹
 krpk⁹² mzd W⁹³ p'td'šn⁹⁴ 'whrmzd' k's MN 'hl'dyh YHBWNYt'⁹⁵ hncmnyk'n⁹⁶

²⁹ K20 hwt'yh.

³⁰ DH and K43 om.

³¹ K43 wšt'sp.

³² K20 written as dw'cdh hwm'spl.

³³ DH om.

³⁴ DH om.

³⁵ K20 om.

³⁶ K43 YKOYMWNYt.

³⁷ DH 'wgwn.

³⁸ K20 MS part. r. (AMT)š. Better AMT.

³⁹ K20 om.

⁴⁰ K20 and K43 hwt'yh.

⁴¹ DH and K43 om.

⁴² K43 wšt'sp.

⁴³ K20 and K43 yšt' c.

⁴⁴ Better YHWWNYt. In K20 preceded by yšt.

⁴⁵ DH omits 'hlwb Y reading only 'hlwb'n; K43 'hlwb' 'hlwb'n.

⁴⁶ DH and K43 om.

⁴⁷ K20 om.

⁴⁸ DH m'zds'f'n; K43 m'zdy'n.

⁴⁹ K43 hwytwkdtyh. DH hwytwkdtyh.

⁵⁰ K20 gwpyt'š.

⁵¹ K20 OL.

⁵² K20 'hlwb'.

⁵³ K20 om.

⁵⁴ DH and K43 om.

⁵⁵ K20 škwpt.

⁵⁶ DH and K20 škwptl.

⁵⁷ K20 and K43 dwš hwt'yh.

⁵⁸ K43 om.

⁵⁹ K20 'cdh'k.

⁶⁰ K20 Y. DH om.

⁶¹ K20 pl'sy'p. K43 pl'sy'p'.

⁶² K20 om.

⁶³ K43 mltwm.

⁶⁴ K20 om.

⁶⁵ K20 PWN.

⁶⁶ DH and K43 om.

⁶⁷ K20 škwpt.

⁶⁸ In K20 preceded by an erasure.

⁶⁹ K20 bwt.

⁷⁰ In DH and K43 written upside down.

⁷¹ K43 om.

⁷² K20 bwt.

⁷³ K20 MS part. r. [f.]E.

⁷⁴ K20 and K43 dwš hwt'yh.

⁷⁵ K20 MS r. Possibly gy' for NP. gáh or gy'h. DH written as ABA, possibly corrupted from gy'h or *g'h.

⁷⁶ DH and K20 om.

⁷⁷ K20 om.

⁷⁸ K20 om.

⁷⁹ In K20 preceded by an erasure.

⁸⁰ DH 'ly'h, corrected over the line, in Arabic letters without diacritics: Irān.

⁸¹ In K20 p· written below the line.

⁸² K20 om. DH Y.

⁸³ Recte sthm.

⁸⁴ K20 p'thš'yh. DH p'thš'š.

⁸⁵ Better BYN.

⁸⁶ K20 MS part. r. YMRWN(m).

⁸⁷ K43 MN MNW st'n.

⁸⁸ K20 om.

⁸⁹ K43 'hl'dyh.

⁹⁰ DH cymk'mycHD. K43 cymkymycHD.

⁹¹ K20 om.

⁹² K20 krpk. In DH followed by W.

⁹³ K20 om.

⁹⁴ K20 p't'šn. K43 omits the next three words.

ZKL'n W⁹⁷ NKB'n yzm⁹⁸ W⁹⁹ 'mhrspnd'n¹⁰⁰ MNW ZKLc¹⁰¹ NKB¹⁰²
OLEs'n¹⁰³ ŠPYL HWE^d

CHAPTER SIX

1) pwsyt zltwhšt MN 'whrmzd AYK¹ 'whrmzd mynw² Y² 'pzwnyk³ d'tl⁴
Y⁴ gyh'n Y⁵ 'st'wmnd'n 'hlwb⁶ MN AYK LAWHL wyl'dynd ZNE dyn' Y⁷
ŠPYL Y⁸ m'zdysn'n⁹ W PWN ME 'pzl BRA MHYTWNd ZNE ŠDYA'n¹⁰ Y²¹
wc'lt wls¹² Y hyšm twhm¹³ 2) d'tl L 'wš YHBWN¹³ W 'wb'tk'n Y L 'wš
YHBWN AYK AL HNA¹⁴ zyw'nd¹⁵ BYN ZK¹⁶ Y škwpt¹⁷ 'wb'm gšnk
zywšnyk¹⁸ YHBWN AYK dlwndyh¹⁹ W l's Y²⁰ dwšhw LA wyl'dynd 3) gwptš

⁹⁵ In K20 and DH follows W.

⁹⁶ K20 *hncmnykg'n* Y.

⁹⁷ DH and K43 om.

⁹⁸ K20 *yzm*.

⁹⁹ DH om.

¹⁰⁰ K43 *mhrspnd'n*.

¹⁰¹ K20 ZKLc.

¹⁰² DH and K43 om.

¹⁰³ In DH preceded by W.

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¹ K43 omits the next four words.

² DH om.

³ DH *'pzwyk*.

⁴ K20 and K43 om.

⁵ DH W. K43 om.

⁶ In DH followed by W.

⁷ K43 om.

⁸ DH om.

⁹ DH and K43 *m'zdysn'n*.

¹⁰ DH and K43 ŠDYA.

¹¹ K20 and DH om.

¹² DH om.

¹³ K20 YHBWN.

¹⁴ Better *y*.

¹⁵ Better *zywynd*.

¹⁶ K43 om.

¹⁷ K20 *škwpt*.

¹⁸ Better *zywšnyh*.

¹⁹ K20, at the end of a line, *dlwndyh*.

²⁰ DH om.

'whrmzd AYK spyt'm'n zltwhšt AHL MN nyš'nk Y²¹ syd' ŠLYTAyh²² MN²³
OLEš'n hyšm twhm¹³ MN²⁴ slm'n²⁵ MTA'n²⁶ dlwc Y²⁷ šyt'spyh²⁸ klsy'kyh²⁹
HWEt³⁰ m'hwnd't³¹ gwpt AYK hlwm'dyk³² YHWWNd W lwšn' gwpt AYK
swhl kl'h³³ W swhl' zyn W swhl dlpš³⁴ YHWWNd HWEt AMT dhšk³⁵ Y³⁶
OLEš'n YHWWNyt 4) AMT BRA YATWNd spyt'm'n zltwhšt hwlšyt nyzm
nyš'u nm'yt³⁷ W³⁸ MN gwnk wltyt' PWN gyh'n nyzm³⁹ W twm W⁴⁰ t'lykyh
YHWWNyt PWN 'sm'n nyš'nk⁴¹ Y gwnk gwnk pyt'k YHWWNyt W⁴²
bwmcndk⁴³ Y⁴⁴ KBD YHWWNyt W w't' sthmbktl⁴⁵ YATWNyt W⁴⁶ PWN
gyh'n nyd'c W tngyh W⁴⁷ dwšhw'lyh wys⁴⁸ OL dyt'l⁴⁹ YATWNyt W⁵⁰ tyl W⁵¹

²¹ K20 om.

²² K20 MS part. r. *p'h(š)/.jyh*.

²³ Better *OL*.

²⁴ DH om.

²⁵ K43 *sl'm'n*.

²⁶ In DH followed by W.

²⁷ K20 and DH om.

²⁸ K20 MS r. *(W)/...j'spyh*. Better *šyt'sp*.

²⁹ In K20 and DH preceded by W. K43 *kl'sy'gyh*. Better *kl'sy'kyk*.

³⁰ In K20 with raised -E-.

³¹ K20 *m'hwnd d't*, then written twice, in Arabic characters, above and under the line, as *māhvāndāz*. K43 *m'hwd't*.

³² DH *hlwm'dyk*. K43 *hlwm'yk*.

³³ The standard Pahlavi spelling is *kwl'p*. Here we have a modern phonetic spelling.

³⁴ K20 reads instead *(sw)hl zyn W swhl dlpš swhl kwl'h*.

³⁵ DH *dhsk*.

³⁶ K20 om.

³⁷ Better *nm'dyt*.

³⁸ K20 instead of *MN gwnk wltyt' PWN gyh'n nyzm W twm t'lykyh YHWWNyt PWN 'sm'n nyš'nk Y gwnk gwnk pyt'k YHWWNyt* W reads *m'n gwnk gwnk pyt'k YHWWNyt*.

³⁹ So in K43 but split between two lines. In DH *nyzm* can be reconstructed taking the final stroke of the preceding word.

⁴⁰ DH om.

⁴¹ DH *nyš'nk*.

⁴² DH repeats twice.

⁴³ K20 *bwmycndk*; DH *bwmycndk'*.

⁴⁴ K20 om.

⁴⁵ DH *sthmbktl*.

⁴⁶ K20 om.

⁴⁷ DH om.

⁴⁸ K43 om.

⁴⁹ In its present condition MS K20 reads *d'(t')l* with diacritics under the first *aleph*. This reading coincides with that of Anklesaria.

⁵⁰ K43 om.

⁵¹ K20 and K43 Y.

'whrmzd SLYtl'n l'd p'thš'yh⁵² l'dynd⁵³ 5) 1 100 k'nk⁵⁴ W 1 1000 k'nk⁵⁵ W⁵⁶
bywl k'nk⁵⁷ YHWWNd dlwc Y⁵⁸ šyt'spyh klsy'kyh⁵⁹ dlpš Y suhl YHSNNd APš'n
lwbšn KBD t'cynd⁶⁰ OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y⁶¹ L 'whrmzd d't OD 'ing b'l
HWEt YHWWNt MNW pl't lwt gwpt OD OL⁶² ywn'n⁶³ Y 'swlst'n⁶⁴ m'nš⁶⁵
HWEt' ywn'n s'ht 'm'l APš 'swlyk m'nšnyh HNA AYK ANŠWTA⁶⁶ Y 'swlyk
pš YKTLWNd⁶⁷ W ZK Y OLEš'n nšdmk⁶⁸ HWEt YHWWNt MNW glystk⁶⁹
Y ŠDYA'n' gwpt 6) 'ytwn BRA YKTLWNd ZK Y OLEš'n hyšm twhmk'n st
k'nk W 1000⁷⁰ k'nk W⁷¹ bywl k'nk W⁷² LAWHL wlynd dlpš nš'n W⁷³ ml sp'h
Y⁷⁴ OLEš'n ŠDYA'n Y⁷⁵ wc'lt wls⁷⁶ BRA YHMTWNd OL ZNE⁷⁷ 'yl'n MTA'n
Y L 'whrmzd⁷⁸ d't W hyn' Y⁷⁹ pl'hw 'nyk dwšmyn⁸⁰ twlk⁸¹ W klmyl HWEt'

LALA dlpš HWE'd ME dlpš LALA OHDWNd⁸² HWEt' PWN KBD mlkyh OL
'yl'n MTA'n⁸³ cygwn bwš Y SWSYA BRA YKOYMWNd⁸⁴ twlk Y⁸⁵ dwb'l
kwstyk hlwm'dyk⁸⁶ Y⁸⁷ šyt'spyh Y⁸⁸ klsy'kyh⁸⁹ PWN hm lšnyh pr'c YHMTWNd
7) W PWN⁹⁰ hm kwhššnyh⁹¹ PWN 3 gyw'k 'ityh⁹² Y⁹³ wclg 3 b'l YHWWNt
YHWWNyt spyt'm'n zltwhšt 8) 'ywk PWN hwt'yh⁹⁴ Y⁹⁵ k'hws⁹⁶ AMT PWN
ZK Y⁹⁷ ŠDYA'n 'p'kyh⁹⁸ LWTE⁹⁹ 'mhrspnd'n 9) W dtykl AMT LK spyt'm'n
zltwhšt dyn' MKBLWNt¹⁰⁰ W hm pwrskyh¹⁰¹ Y LK wšt'sp šh W 'lc'sp Y hyšm
wšwt¹⁰² PWN k'lyc'l Y dyn PWN hm kwhššnyh Y¹⁰³ PWN spyt¹⁰⁴ lcwl HWEt
YHWWNt MNW BYN p'ls gwpt 10) W stykl AMT hc'lk Y¹⁰⁵ LK sl
YHWWNyt' spyt'm'n zltwhšt AMT ZK¹⁰⁶ KRA 3 OL HNA gyw'k
YHMTWNyt W¹⁰⁷ twlk W t'cyk W hlwmyk¹⁰⁸ HWEt YHWWNt' MNW dšt

⁵² DH p'thš'yh.
⁵³ DH and K43 l'dynd.
⁵⁴ K20 k'n.
⁵⁵ K20 k'n.
⁵⁶ K20 om.
⁵⁷ K20 k'n.
⁵⁸ K20 and DH om.
⁵⁹ In K43 W klsy'dyk, separated from the preceding word by a period marker. Better šyt'šp Y klsy'kyk.
⁶⁰ K20 r'cnd.
⁶¹ K20 om.
⁶² In K20 follows ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't, then erased.
⁶³ In DH the first -n- is raised.
⁶⁴ K43 'yl'sr'n.
⁶⁵ In DH m'n's. Better m'nšn.
⁶⁶ DH ANŠWTA.
⁶⁷ Better KTLWNd.
⁶⁸ K43 peculiarly written as OLEš'nn šdmk.
⁶⁹ K20 klystk.
⁷⁰ DH 1 1000.
⁷¹ K20 om.
⁷² K20 and K43 om.
⁷³ K20 and K43 om.
⁷⁴ DH om.
⁷⁵ Missing in K20, possibly due to the present condition of the MS.
⁷⁶ DH wls'n.
⁷⁷ DH and K43 om.
⁷⁸ K20 MS r. [-](hr)mzd.
⁷⁹ In K20 follows pl'wynyt'. In K43 begins a lacuna which ends with the words HWEt' PWN.
⁸⁰ K20 dwšmyn'.
⁸¹ In K20 the next few lines are in Arabic script.

⁸² The Pārsi text in K20 reads kunād.
⁸³ The Pārsi text in K20 adds va man urmazd dād.
⁸⁴ K43 YKOYMWNYt. With this word, partially covered by a smear of ink, K20 returns to Pahlavi script.
⁸⁵ K20 W.
⁸⁶ DH hlwm'yk.
⁸⁷ DH and K43 W.
⁸⁸ DH and K43 om.
⁸⁹ K43 klsy'kyh. Better šyt'šp Y klsy'kyk.
⁹⁰ K43 P.
⁹¹ K20 hm khšnyh. K43 as hmd kwhššnyh.
⁹² Better 'ityk.
⁹³ K20 W.
⁹⁴ K20 hwt'yh.
⁹⁵ DH om.
⁹⁶ DH and K43 k'yws.
⁹⁷ DH om.
⁹⁸ DH p'kyh.
⁹⁹ K43 om.
¹⁰⁰ Better MKBLWNY.
¹⁰¹ K20 hmpwrsyh.
¹⁰² In DH twhmk written above the line.
¹⁰³ DH om.
¹⁰⁴ K43 styk.
¹⁰⁵ K20 om.
¹⁰⁶ In K20 follows Y.
¹⁰⁷ K20 om.
¹⁰⁸ Better hlwm'dyk.

Y¹⁰⁹ nyš'nk¹¹⁰ gwpt' hm'k 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't MN g's Y NPŠE¹¹¹
 BRA OL ptyšhw'lg¹¹² YHMTWNYt¹¹³ HWEt YHWWNt MNW¹¹⁴ 'twr'
 gwšn'sp¹¹⁵ PWN wl Y¹¹⁶ cyst' Y zpl¹¹⁷ Y glmw' p Y ywdt ŠDYA HWEt TMEc
 dyn¹¹⁸ pyt'k HWEt YHWWNt MNW m'hyk gwpt 'twrk¹¹⁹ gwpt' AYK
 kwlcng¹²⁰ 'ytwn PWN t'cšn YHWWNyt PWN ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd
 d't MN hyšm twhm'k¹²¹ spyt'm'n zltwhšt AYK ZNE ANŠWTA OL ptšhw'lg
 W p'ls W¹²² swl'k m'ns¹²³ W¹²⁴ kwp m'ns¹²⁵ W¹²⁶ dlyd¹²⁷ m'ns¹²⁸ ADYNš
 nhng¹²⁹ BRA m'nyt 11) ME AMT¹³⁰ šwd NPŠE BRA twb'n bwhtn ADYNš
 NYŠE W przd¹³¹ W¹³² hw'stk 'byd't¹³³ LA YHWWNyt 12)¹³⁴ W AHL zltwhšt
 gwpt' AYK d't'l L 'wš YHBWN 'wb'tk'n Y L 'wš YHBWN AYK AL
 zywynd¹³⁵ BYN¹³⁶ ZK Y¹³⁷ škwp't 'wb'm¹³⁸ 13) zltwhšt ME ZK YWM¹³⁹ AMT

¹⁰⁹ K20 and K43 om. In DH this letter is oversize.

¹¹⁰ In DH and K43 followed by Y.

¹¹¹ K43 as *PNŠE* with raised *N*.

¹¹² K20 and DH *ptšhw'lg*.

¹¹³ K43 *lsyt*.

¹¹⁴ In K43 preceded by *TME*.

¹¹⁵ K20 *twr wšn'sp*; K43 *twr' Y gwšn'sp W*.

¹¹⁶ DH and K43 om.

¹¹⁷ Better *zwpl*.

¹¹⁸ K43 *cygwn*. Similarly, both in K20 and in DH the last two words occur between the end of a line and the beginning of the next and are peculiarly split. Thus on one line we read *TME* and on the next *-c dyn'* which can well be read as *cygwn*.

¹¹⁹ K43 *twrk*; K20 skips *twrk gwpt'*.

¹²⁰ K20 reads *ww kwlcng*. Better *klcng*.

¹²¹ K43 *ys hmtwhmk'n*. In DH the *-h-* is written above the *-m-*.

¹²² K20 om.

¹²³ K43 *m'nšnyh*. Better *m'nšn*.

¹²⁴ DH and K43 om.

¹²⁵ DH *m'n*. K43 *myn*. Better *m'nšn*.

¹²⁶ DH and K43 *Y*.

¹²⁷ DH *dly'*. In K43 *W dly'*.

¹²⁸ DH *m'n Y*. Better *m'nšn*.

¹²⁹ The correct Pahlavi spelling would be *nsng*. Here we have a phonetic spelling.

¹³⁰ DH and K43 *AMTš*.

¹³¹ DH *prcnd*.

¹³² DH om.

¹³³ DH and K43 *yt*.

¹³⁴ Here begins a lacuna in K20 which ends with the words *AYK AL*. The text in DH and K43 is a repetition of par. 2.

¹³⁵ K20 *zywynd* with *-yn-* added below the line.

¹³⁶ K20 om.

¹³⁷ DH om.

stwzm hc'lk Y¹⁴⁰ LK¹⁴¹ sl YHWWNyt¹⁴² Y zltwhšt'n AMT 'ycš¹⁴³ dlwnd MN
 ZNE hc'lk BYN ZK hc'lk¹⁴⁴ LA OZLWNyt

CHAPTER SEVEN

1) pwrst¹ zltwhšt' MN 'whrmzd AYK 'whrmzd mynw'k 'pzwynyk² d't'l Y³
 gyh'n 'st'wmnd'n⁴ 'blwb⁵ AMT OLEš'n 'ytwn' KBD mlk HWE'd⁶ PWN ME⁷
 'pz'l BRA š'ynd⁸ 'pshynayn⁹ 2) gwptš 'whrmzd AYK spyt'm'n' zltwhšt AMT
 ŠDYA Y¹⁰ we'lt wls Y¹¹ hyšm twhm'k OL pyt'kyh YATWNYt' PWN kwst Y
 hwl's'n' nzdst¹² nyš'n Y¹³ syd' pyt'k YHWWNyt' YLYDWNyt¹⁴ 'wšyt¹⁵ Y
 zltwhšt'n PWN wl Y plzd'n¹⁶ HWEt MNW¹⁷ PWN zl'y ky'nsyh¹⁸ gwpt HWEt'
 YHWWNt¹⁹ MNW PWN k'lwst'n²⁰ gwpt. 3) PWN²¹ 30 ŠNTkyh OL hm

¹³⁸ K20 *wh'm*.

¹³⁹ In K43 preceded by Y.

¹⁴⁰ K20 and K43 om.

¹⁴¹ DH and K43 om.

¹⁴² Only in K20 under a smear of ink.

¹⁴³ Better *ycI*.

¹⁴⁴ DH and K43 skip the last three words.

Chapter Seven

¹ K20 *pwrst*.

² DH *'pzwynyk Y*.

³ K20 and K43 om.

⁴ DH *'stwmnd'n*.

⁵ DH and K43 add *d't'l*.

⁶ K43 *HWE'm Y*.

⁷ DH *ME*.

⁸ K43 *š'yt*.

⁹ K20 *'pysyt*.

¹⁰ DH and K43 om.

¹¹ K20 *W*.

¹² K43 *nzdst*.

¹³ K20 om.

¹⁴ DH and K43 *YLYDWN'yt*.

¹⁵ K20 *'wšyt*. K43 *'wkšyt*.

¹⁶ In K20 this word is almost completely covered by a smear of ink.

¹⁷ Here begins a lacuna in K20. It ends with the words [...]*kyh OL hmpwrskyh*.

¹⁸ K43 *zldy ky'nsyh*. Better *zlyh*.

¹⁹ K43 om.

²⁰ So K43. DH *k'plst*. Better *k'plst'n*.

²¹ DH om.

pwrskyh²² L 'whrmzd YHMTWNYt spyt'm'n²³ zltwhšt PWN²⁴ kwst Y cynst'n' gwpt' HWEt' YHWWNt' MNW BYN hndwk'n gwpt' 4) YLYDWNNyt kyl HWEt' AB' Y OLE ky MN ky'n twhmK PWN²⁵ hdyb'lyh OL 'wšyt²⁶ hndwk'n OZLWNyt²⁷ 5) PWN 1 100 ŠNTkyh k'mk OL NYŠE'n YHWWNyt APš hčš²⁸ YLYDWNNyt' kyl²⁹ Y³⁰ dyn'yk w'hl'm Y³¹ wlc'wnd ŠM³² KLYTWNyt³³ HWEt' YHWWNt³⁴ MNW³⁵ šhpwl gwpt 6) AYK ZK LYLJA AMT ZK³⁶ ky YLYDWNNyt³⁷ nys'n OL³⁸ gyh'n' YHMTWNYt³⁹ st'lk MN 'sm'n' w'lyt' AMT OLE⁴⁰ ky YLYDWNNyt' st'lk nys'n⁴¹ nm'yt⁴² HWEt d't'whrmzd gwpt' AYK 'p'n BYRH W w't YWM ABYtl Y OLE ky⁴³ plc'm YHWWNyt PWN knyk'n⁴⁴ Y šh plwlynd⁴⁵ hwt'y NYŠE⁴⁶ YHWWNyt' 7) OLE ky AMT 30 ŠNTk YHWWNyt' HWEt⁴⁷ YHWWNt⁴⁸ MN⁴⁹ 'wb'm gwpt⁵⁰ PWN 'ml dlpš sp'h⁵¹ Y⁵²

²² K43 *hmpwrsyh*.

²³ In K43 miswritten as *sytwyt'm'n*.

²⁴ K20 om.

²⁵ Here begins a lacuna in K20. It ends with the words *OL NYŠE'n*.

²⁶ In DH 'wšyt. In K43 follows Y.

²⁷ K43 *OZLTNyt*.

²⁸ K20 om.

²⁹ K43 *ky*.

³⁰ K43 om.

³¹ DH om.

³² In DH written above the line.

³³ K43 *KRYTWNyt*.

³⁴ K43 *YHWWNyt'*.

³⁵ K43 *APš MN*.

³⁶ K43 om.

³⁷ K20 *z'yt*.

³⁸ Here begins a lacuna in K43. It ends with the word *nm'yt*.

³⁹ K20 *YHMTWNYt*.

⁴⁰ K20 *OL*.

⁴¹ K20 *nys'nk*.

⁴² Better *nm'dyt*.

⁴³ K20 om.

⁴⁴ K20 *kn'yk'n*. K43 *kyk'n*.

⁴⁵ DH and K43 *plwlynd*.

⁴⁶ K43 *NYŠE*.

⁴⁷ In DH and K43 followed by Y.

⁴⁸ K20 *YHWWNyt*.

⁴⁹ Better *MNW*.

⁵⁰ In DH 'wpt' corrected striking out one hook.

⁵¹ All MSS add a second *sp'h*.

⁵² K20 om.

hndwk⁵³ W⁵⁴ cynyh⁵⁵ LALA glpt' dlpš HWEt ME dlpš LALA OHDWNd 'pl'stk⁵⁶ dlpš HWEt W⁵⁷ 'pl'stk⁵⁸ zyn' HWEt PWN t'cšn' LALA t'cynd⁵⁹ OD wyh lwt' YHWWNt⁶⁰ MNW bwml⁶¹ MTA gwpt' OD 'ndlg b'l b'hl W⁶² b'hl'n spyt'm'n zltwhšt⁶³ 8) AMT st'lk Y 'whrmzd LALA OL b'lst⁶⁴ YHMTWNYt W⁶⁵ 'n'hyt⁶⁶ l'd plwt LMYTWNyt⁶⁷ hwt'yh OL ky⁶⁸ YHMTWNYt KBD 'ml gwnd zyn'wd⁶⁹ 'l'stk dlpš HWEt 9) HWEt YHWWNt⁷⁰ MNW MN syst'n⁷¹ W p's W hwl's'n HWEt YHWWNt MNW MN wl Y ptšhw'lg gwpt HWEt⁷² YHWWNt⁷³ MNW MN⁷⁴ hly'w⁷⁵ kwpst'n gwpt HWEt' YHWWNt⁷⁶ MNW MN tplt'n gwpt 10) W MN ZK kwstk 'pln'dykl⁷⁷ 'n'st'l BRA OL⁷⁸ pyt'kyh YATWNYt HWEt dlpš Y⁷⁹ 'l'stk W KBD mlk sp'h Y ptšhw'lg⁸⁰ MN 'yl'n štr' zynyk'n⁸¹ W⁸² gwnd W sp'h YHWWNt⁸³ MNW⁸⁴ gwpt⁸⁵ AYK kltyc⁸⁶ klm'nyc

⁵³ K43 *hndwk'n*.

⁵⁴ K43 om.

⁵⁵ Better *cynyh*.

⁵⁶ K43 *pl'stk*.

⁵⁷ DH and K43 om.

⁵⁸ DH *pl'st*.

⁵⁹ K20 *t'cnd*.

⁶⁰ K20 *bwt*.

⁶¹ K20 *bm'l*.

⁶² K43 Y. DH om.

⁶³ K43 *zltwhšt'* as regularly in K20.

⁶⁴ Better *b'lyst*.

⁶⁵ K20 om.

⁶⁶ K43 *hwšyt*.

⁶⁷ DH and K43 skip the next four words.

⁶⁸ In K20 written above the line.

⁶⁹ An alternative reading is *zyw'nd*. DH *z'n'wd*. Better *zyn'wnd*.

⁷⁰ K20 *bwt*.

⁷¹ In DH *-n'* is written above the line.

⁷² Here begins a lacuna in K43. It ends with the words *YHWWNt MNW MN tplt'n*.

⁷³ K20 *bwt*.

⁷⁴ In K20 written above the line.

⁷⁵ In DH written as *hl'sn*. Better *hl'šw*.

⁷⁶ K20 *bwt*.

⁷⁷ K20 *plnydykl*. K43 *pln's*.

⁷⁸ K20 om.

⁷⁹ K20 om.

⁸⁰ K20 *ptšhw'lg*.

⁸¹ DH *zynkyn'*. K43 *zynkyn'*.

⁸² K20 om.

⁸³ DH *YHWWN*. K43 *YHWWNd*.

⁸⁴ K20 *MNWt*.

KLYTWNd l'd⁸⁷ pyt'k 11) AYK PWN hm hdyb'lyh⁸⁸ hm dlpš OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n' KBD mlk⁸⁹ BRA YKTLWNd OLEŠ'n hyšm twhmk'n Y⁹⁰ šyt'spyh⁹¹ hyn' Y⁹² pl'hw 'nyk d'm⁹³ gwlg Y 2 zng W ŠDYA Y⁹⁴ dwb'l kwstyk⁹⁵ 12) PWN 'ln'g⁹⁶ b'l 3 k'lyc'l OBYDWNd 'ywk PWN spyt⁹⁷ lcwl W 'ywk PWN dšt Y nys'nk⁹⁸ 13) HWet YHWWNt⁹⁹ MNW gwpt¹⁰⁰ AYK PWN wl Y 3 twhmk W¹⁰¹ YHWWNt MNW gwpt AYK BYN mlw' Y šyt'n' HWet' YHWWNt¹⁰² MNW BYN p'ls gwpt 14) OL pwšt Y¹⁰³ 'yl'n MTA'n 'ml sp'h¹⁰⁴ Y¹⁰⁵ hwl's'nyh¹⁰⁶ 'pl'stk dlpš HWet¹⁰⁷ AYK dlpš Y¹⁰⁸ b'pl¹⁰⁹ pwst YHSNNd APŠ'n w't' dlpš¹¹⁰ bnd'k¹¹¹ spyt 15) W 'ml¹¹² LALA sp'h nswb'lynd¹¹³ OD¹¹⁴ OL

⁸⁵ K20 *wpt* corrected through diacritics.

⁸⁶ In K43 followed by *klytyc*.

⁸⁷ Better to read *L4*.

⁸⁸ K43 *hmhd'b'lyh*.

⁸⁹ In K20, at the top of f. 139r., there are a few words written in Arabic letters. Unfortunately the present state of the MS does not permit to read them clearly.

⁹⁰ K43 om.

⁹¹ Better *šyt'sp*.

⁹² Both in K20 and K43 written as *hyn'd* (=BYDWNd) with marked *-d*. In K43 followed by a sentence marker.

⁹³ In K43 written as *šM*.

⁹⁴ K43 om.

⁹⁵ In K20 *dwwlkwstyk* with *-kw-* written above the line.

⁹⁶ This word can, alternatively, be read *'lwnd; arwand*.

⁹⁷ DH *spyt*.

⁹⁸ DH *nys'nyk*.

⁹⁹ K20 *bwt*.

¹⁰⁰ K20 *wpt*, corrected by diacritics.

¹⁰¹ DH om. Here begins a lacuna in K43. It ends with the words *W YHWWNt MNW BYN p'ls*.

¹⁰² K20 *bwt YHWWNt*. In the latter word *-ww-* is written above the line.

¹⁰³ DH and K43 om.

¹⁰⁴ In K20 *-s-* is written above the line.

¹⁰⁵ DH and K43 om.

¹⁰⁶ In K20 an extra hook, possibly erased, is inserted before the final *-yh*. Better *hwl's'nyk*.

¹⁰⁷ K20 *HWet*.

¹⁰⁸ K20 om.

¹⁰⁹ In K20 the *-p-* is under a smear of ink.

¹¹⁰ In DH and K43 followed by *W*.

¹¹¹ Or *bndwk*, the word is doubtful.

¹¹² DH *gml*.

¹¹³ K20 *nswb'lyn'd*. K43 *nyhb'lynd*.

¹¹⁴ K43 om. In K20 written above the line.

glystk¹¹⁵ Y ŠDYA'n 'ytwn' BRA YKTLWNd AYK 1000 NYŠE ps GBRA1 HZYTWNd W¹¹⁶ BRA BOYHWN'd¹¹⁷ 16) AMT zm'n sl YHWWNyt spyt'm'n zltwhšt W¹¹⁸ OLEŠ'n dwšmn'n¹¹⁹ 'ytwn BRA 'psyhynd¹²⁰ cygwn dhl'tl¹²¹ bwn AMT PWN HNA¹²² LYLYA Y zmst'n' Y slt QDM lsy¹²³ W PWN HNA LYLYA wlg BRA¹²⁴ 'pkn'yt¹²⁵ 17) LAWHL wyl'dyn'd ZNE 'yl'n' MTA'n Y¹²⁶ L 'whrmzd d't 18) W PWN¹²⁷ dwb'lšn dwb'lyt gnn'k¹²⁸ mynwkw LWTE ŠDYA'n W¹²⁹ SLYtl¹³⁰ twhmk'n¹³¹ W¹³² hyšm Y hwl'dlpš¹³³ BRA¹³⁴ OL¹³⁵ pwšt W hdyb'lyh Y¹³⁶ OLEŠ'n dyw'ysn'n¹³⁷ W hyšm twhmk'n¹³⁸ YHMTWNYt¹³⁹ spyt'm'n' zltwhšt 19) W L¹⁴⁰ d't'l 'whrmzd ŠDRWNm nylywsng¹⁴¹ yzdt W slwš 'hlwb' BRA¹⁴² kngdc Y syd'whš¹⁴³ Y b'myk krt' BRA¹⁴⁴ cytlwmyhn¹⁴⁵ Y¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁵ K20 *glystk*. In DH written as *klystk*.

¹¹⁶ DH and K43 om.

¹¹⁷ K20 *BOYDND*. K43 *BOYDWNd*.

¹¹⁸ K20 om.

¹¹⁹ In DH and K43 follows *Y*.

¹²⁰ DH *'psyhynd*. K43 *'psh'nd*.

¹²¹ DH *d'l'tl*.

¹²² Better *HD*.

¹²³ K43 *YHMTWNYt*.

¹²⁴ DH and K43 om.

¹²⁵ In DH two letters are erased in the middle of the word.

¹²⁶ DH om.

¹²⁷ In K20, at the end of the line, follows *dw*, and two end-line strokes. The first word on the next line begins with *dw-*.

¹²⁸ DH and K43 *gn'k*.

¹²⁹ K20 and K43 om.

¹³⁰ K20 *SLYtl'n*. K43 *SLtl*.

¹³¹ DH *twhmk*. In K20 *-h* is written above the line. K43 *k'mk'n*.

¹³² DH *Y*.

¹³³ K20 and DH *hlw Y dlpš*. More regularly *hwl'dlpš*.

¹³⁴ K43 om.

¹³⁵ In DH follows *W*.

¹³⁶ DH and K43 om.

¹³⁷ DH, split between two lines, *dyw'ysn'n*. K43 *dyw's'n'n*.

¹³⁸ K20 *yhwtk'n*.

¹³⁹ K20 *lyt*.

¹⁴⁰ DH om.

¹⁴¹ DH *nyldywsng*.

¹⁴² K43 *Y BRA OL*. DH om.

¹⁴³ K43 *syd'whš*.

¹⁴⁴ K20 om.

¹⁴⁵ DH *cytlwmyndhn'*. K43 *cytlwmyndhn*.

¹⁴⁶ DH and K43 om.

wš't'sp'n ky'n GDE Y¹⁴⁷ dyn' l'st wyl'st'l AYK HNA pyššwtn¹⁴⁸ Y¹⁴⁹ b'myk
pr'c SGYTWN OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't' W¹⁵⁰ NWLA¹⁵¹ 'p'n
pr'c YDBHWN¹⁵² h'twht¹⁵³ W¹⁵⁴ dw'cdh hwm'st¹⁵⁵ HWEt PWN NWLA¹⁵⁶ 'p'n
pr'c¹⁵⁷ YDBHWN¹⁵⁸ ZK Y¹⁵⁹ PWN 'thš¹⁶⁰ 'p'n pyt'k 20) W¹⁶¹ SGYTWNyt
nylywsng¹⁶² yzdt W slwš 'hlwb' MN wyh¹⁶³ ck't Y d'ytyk¹⁶⁴ OL kngdc Y
syd'whš¹⁶⁵ Y¹⁶⁶ b'myk krt' MNš¹⁶⁷ KALA OBYDWNd¹⁶⁸ AYK pr'c SGYTWN
pyššwtn¹⁶⁹ Y¹⁷⁰ b'myk cytlwmyhn¹⁷¹ Y wš't'sp'n ky'n GDE Y¹⁷² dyn' l'st'
wyl'st'l¹⁷³ pr'c SGYTWN OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't' LAWHL
wyl'd¹⁷⁴ g's Y¹⁷⁵ dyn W hwt'yh¹⁷⁶ 21) OLEš'n mynwkyh' QDM SGYTWNd
APš'n YDBHWNd dw'cdh hwm'st¹⁷⁷ Y¹⁷⁸ PWN zwhl 22) W¹⁷⁹ pr'c

SGYTWNyt¹⁸⁰ pyššwtn' Y b'myk LWTE 1 100 W¹⁸¹ 50 GBRA¹⁸² Y 'hlwb'
MNW h'wš't Y¹⁸³ pyššwtn' HWEt PWN syd' smwl¹⁸⁴ W¹⁸⁵ y'mk PWN¹⁸⁶
mynwk¹⁸⁷ ŠPYL YHSNNd LALA SGYTWNd PWN hwm't W huht W¹⁸⁸
hwwlšt¹⁸⁹ W¹⁹⁰ 'thš Y¹⁹¹ 'p'n pr'c YDBHWNd h'twht¹⁹² W bg'n¹⁹³ ysn¹⁹⁴ pr'c
st'dynd L 'whrmzd LWTE 'mhrspnd'n¹⁹⁵ 23) W AHL MN¹⁹⁶ ZK BRA
TBLWNyt¹⁹⁷ pyd'lk 3¹⁹⁸ 'ywkl¹⁹⁹ 24) pr'c SGYTWNyt pyššwtn²⁰⁰ Y²⁰¹ b'myk
LWTE 1 100 W²⁰² 50 GBRA²⁰³ MNW syd' smwl YHSNNd OL²⁰⁴ 'twr Y
GDE'wmdn Y²⁰⁵ lwšn klp KLYTWNd²⁰⁶ PWN d't g's YTYBWNst²⁰⁷ Y²⁰⁸
d'n²⁰⁹ Y²¹⁰ 'twr²¹¹ plnb'g Y pylwckl²¹² APš PWN hm zwtyh yčn pr'c s'cynd

- ¹⁴⁷ K20 om.
¹⁴⁸ K20 *pyššwtn*.
¹⁴⁹ K20 om.
¹⁵⁰ K20 om.
¹⁵¹ DH *thš*. K43 *thš*.
¹⁵² K20 *YDBHWNd*.
¹⁵³ DH *h'twht*. K43 om.
¹⁵⁴ K20 om.
¹⁵⁵ K43 *dw'cdh hwm'st*.
¹⁵⁶ DH *thš NWLA*.
¹⁵⁷ DH and K43 om.
¹⁵⁸ In K20 and K43 follows *W*.
¹⁵⁹ K20 om.
¹⁶⁰ In K20 follows *Y*.
¹⁶¹ DH om.
¹⁶² DH *nyldywksng*.
¹⁶³ In K20 written above the line. DH *ŠPYL*.
¹⁶⁴ K43 *d'tyk*.
¹⁶⁵ K43 *syd'whš*.
¹⁶⁶ K20 om.
¹⁶⁷ DH and K43 *hčf*.
¹⁶⁸ K20 *OBYDWNyt*.
¹⁶⁹ K20 almost as *pyššwtn*.
¹⁷⁰ DH om.
¹⁷¹ In K20 *-yt-* is written above the line. DH *cytlwmydhn*.
¹⁷² K20 om.
¹⁷³ In K43 *-l* is written above the second *-š-*.
¹⁷⁴ K20 *wyl'n*.
¹⁷⁵ DH *W*. K43 om.
¹⁷⁶ K20 *hwt'yh*.
¹⁷⁷ K43 *dw'cdh hwm'st*.
¹⁷⁸ K20 om.
¹⁷⁹ K20 om.

- ¹⁸⁰ K20 *YDBHWNyt*.
¹⁸¹ K20 and DH om.
¹⁸² K20 om.
¹⁸³ K43 om.
¹⁸⁴ In DH written as *smwl*.
¹⁸⁵ DH om.
¹⁸⁶ In K20 follows *Y*.
¹⁸⁷ In K20 follows *Y*.
¹⁸⁸ K20 om.
¹⁸⁹ In DH *-w-* is added above the line. K43 *hwlšt*.
¹⁹⁰ DH om.
¹⁹¹ Better *W*.
¹⁹² DH *h'twht*.
¹⁹³ K20 *b'myk*.
¹⁹⁴ K20 om.
¹⁹⁵ K43 *'mhrspnd'n*.
¹⁹⁶ K43 om.
¹⁹⁷ In K43 followed by an erasure.
¹⁹⁸ In K20 under a smear of ink.
¹⁹⁹ In K20 followed by *W*.
²⁰⁰ K20 *pyššwtn*, almost *pyššwtn*.
²⁰¹ K20 and DH om.
²⁰² K20 om.
²⁰³ In DH follows *Y BRA*.
²⁰⁴ K20 *W*.
²⁰⁵ DH and K43 om.
²⁰⁶ In K20 follows *Y*.
²⁰⁷ K43 *YTYBWNyt*.
²⁰⁸ K43 om.
²⁰⁹ K20 *[...jyn'n* due to a smear of ink. DH *Yd'n* written as one word, other possible readings are *y'n* or, if read together with the preceding *Y*, *h'n*. K43 om.
²¹⁰ K20 and K43 om.
²¹¹ K20, hole, *tw[.] Y*.
²¹² K20 *hwrtd 'm(r)d[.]lwlckl*.

blswm²¹³ pr'c wstlynd²¹⁴ W YDBHWNd hwrđt W²¹⁵ 'mwrđt ysn²¹⁶ PWN
 nylng²¹⁷ W²¹⁸ nylngst'n²¹⁹ Y²²⁰ dyn'yk 25) W²²¹ TBLWNyt ptyd'lk²²² 3 'ywk1²²³
 26) pr'c SGYTWNyt pyššwtn²²⁴ Y²²⁵ wšt'sp'n' PWN²²⁶ hm hdyb'lyh Y²²⁷ 'twr²²⁸
 plnb'g²²⁹ W 'twr gwšnsp²³⁰ W 'twr Y bwlcynmtr' OL 'wcdystc'l²³¹ Y wewlg
 nšdmk²³² Y²³³ dlwnd gan'k²³⁴ mynw²³⁵ hyšm Y hlwdlpš W hm'k ŠDYA'n W
 dlwc'n²³⁶ W²³⁷ wt twhmk'n' W²³⁸ y'twk'n²³⁹ OL ZK Y zwptdwm²⁴⁰ dwšhw
 YHMTWNd BRA HPLWNd²⁴¹ ZK 'wcdystc'l²⁴² PWN hm kwhššnyh²⁴³ Y²⁴⁴
 pyššwtn' Y b'myk²⁴⁵ 27) W L d't'l 'whrmzd LWTE 'mhrspnd'n²⁴⁶ OL gl Y²⁴⁷

²¹³ In K20 follows W.

²¹⁴ K20 wstlynd.

²¹⁵ K20 om.

²¹⁶ K43 W dyn'.

²¹⁷ K20 ylg. DH ylng.

²¹⁸ K20 and K43 om.

²¹⁹ K43 nylgst'n.

²²⁰ DH om.

²²¹ K20 om.

²²² K20 pyd(')lk.

²²³ K20 slyšwtk. In K43 follows W.

²²⁴ K20 pyššwtn'.

²²⁵ K20 om.

²²⁶ In K20 preceded by W.

²²⁷ K20 om.

²²⁸ K20 om.

²²⁹ K20 prnb'. The letter -b- is written below the line.

²³⁰ K20 gwšn'sp.

²³¹ Better 'wcdystc'l.

²³² DH nš'mk, possibly nyš'mk. K43 nyš'mk possibly nydyš'mk.

²³³ In K20 follows W.

²³⁴ DH, smeared, gn'k.

²³⁵ In DH follows dlwnd.

²³⁶ K20 dlwcc'n, split between two lines.

²³⁷ K20 om.

²³⁸ DH and K43 om.

²³⁹ DH and K43 om.

²⁴⁰ In K20 and K43 follows Y.

²⁴¹ In DH follows an erasure.

²⁴² DH and K43 'wcdystc'l. Better 'wcdystc'l.

²⁴³ K20 hmkhšnyh. DH hmkhššnyh.

²⁴⁴ DH om.

²⁴⁵ In DH and K43 follows Y.

²⁴⁶ In K20 written as 'mhrspnd'n.

²⁴⁷ K20 om.

hwkyly'l²⁴⁸ YATWNm²⁴⁹ W plm'dym²⁵⁰ OL 'mhrspnd'n' AYK YMLLWNd²⁵¹
 OL hm'k²⁵² yzd'n W²⁵³ mynw'k' AYK SGYTWNyt W²⁵⁴ YHMTWNyt²⁵⁵ OL
 hdyb'lyh Y²⁵⁶ pyššwtn' Y²⁵⁷ b'myk 28) W²⁵⁸ mtr Y²⁵⁹ pl'hw' gwy'wt²⁶⁰ W²⁶¹ slwš
 tkyk²⁶² W lšn²⁶³ Y l'st W w'hl'm²⁶⁴ Y²⁶⁵ 'm'wnd W 'št't Y pylwckl GDE Y
 dyn' Y²⁶⁶ m'zdsn'n²⁶⁷ nylwk Y²⁶⁸ l'dynyt'lyh²⁶⁹ Y gyh'n' l'st'l PWN plm'n Y²⁷⁰
 29) L d't'l OL²⁷¹ pwšt YHMTWNm²⁷² OL hdyb'lyh Y²⁷³ pyššwtn' Y b'myk
 30) BRA MHYTWNd²⁷⁴ ŠDYA'n Y twm twhmk'n²⁷⁵ 31) w'ng OBYDWNyt²⁷⁶
 gnn'k²⁷⁷ mynw'k' Y²⁷⁸ dlwnd²⁷⁹ OL mtr' Y²⁸⁰ pl'hw gwy'wt²⁸¹ AYK PWN l'styh

²⁴⁸ K43 hwkyly'l.

²⁴⁹ DH YATWNm.

²⁵⁰ In K20 -m written above the line.

²⁵¹ K20 YMRWNd.

²⁵² K20 om.

²⁵³ K20 and DH Y.

²⁵⁴ K20 om.

²⁵⁵ K20 om.

²⁵⁶ DH om.

²⁵⁷ K20 om.

²⁵⁸ K20 om.

²⁵⁹ DH om. Here ends MS K43.

²⁶⁰ K20 ywt.

²⁶¹ K20 om.

²⁶² In K20 -k- is written below the line.

²⁶³ K20 lwšn.

²⁶⁴ DH w'hl'm.

²⁶⁵ K20 W.

²⁶⁶ K20 om.

²⁶⁷ DH m'zdsn'n'.

²⁶⁸ K20 om.

²⁶⁹ K20 l'dynyt'l.

²⁷⁰ DH om.

²⁷¹ In K20 followed by W.

²⁷² Better YHMTWNd.

²⁷³ K20 om.

²⁷⁴ K20 om.

²⁷⁵ K20 twm twhmk'n'.

²⁷⁶ DH OBYDWNyt'.

²⁷⁷ DH gn'k.

²⁷⁸ K20 om.

²⁷⁹ K20 om.

²⁸⁰ K20 om.

²⁸¹ K20 ywt.

LALA YKOYMWN LK mtr' Y²⁸² pl'hw y'wt²⁸² 32) W AHL mtr' Y²⁸⁴ pl'hw y'wt²⁸⁵ KALA OBYDWNyt²⁸⁶ AYK ZNE 9 1000 ŠNT pšt Y²⁸⁷ ZYš krt' OD KON²⁸⁸ dh'k Y²⁸⁹ dwšdyn²⁹⁰ W pl'sy'p²⁹¹ Y twr W²⁹² 'lksndl²⁹³ Y hlwm'dyk²⁹⁴ W²⁹⁵ OLEš'n dwb'l kwstyk'n²⁹⁶ ŠDYA'n Y wc'lt' wls 1 1000 ŠNT'n²⁹⁷ 'wb'm wyš MN ptm'n hwt'yh²⁹⁸ krt 33) W stlt²⁹⁹ YHWWNyt' ZK dlwnd gna'k³⁰⁰ mynwK AMT 'ytwn' 'šnw't 34) mtr' Y pl'hw y'wt³⁰¹ BRA MHYTWNyt hyšm Y hldlwš³⁰² PWN stbwyh³⁰³ dwb'lyt' 35) ZK³⁰⁴ dlwnd gna'k mynwK LWTE wšwtk'n³⁰⁵ W³⁰⁶ wt twhmk'n' LAWHL³⁰⁷ OL³⁰⁸ t'l W³⁰⁹ twm Y dwšhw dwb'lyt³¹⁰ 36) W w'ng OBYDWNyt³¹¹ mtr' Y pl'hw y'wt³¹² OL pyššwt'n³¹³ Y b'myk AYK BRA³¹⁴ HPLWN BRA MHYTWN³¹⁵ ZK 'wcdystc'l³¹⁶ Y ŠDYA'n

nšdmk³¹⁷ SGYTWN OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't LAWHL wyl'd³¹⁸ g's dyn³¹⁹ W³²⁰ hwt'yh³²¹ W QDM dlwnd'n AMT LK HZYTWNy BRA šk'yny³²² 37) W QDM YHMTWNyt pyššwt'n' Y b'myk W 'twr Y³²³ plnb'g³²⁴ W 'twr Y³²⁵ gwšnp W³²⁶ 'twr Y bwlcyntmtr' Y pylwckl³²⁷ BRA MHYTWNyt' ZK dlwc Y KBD 'wc' BRA HPLWNyt' ZK 'wcdystc'l³²⁸ AYK nšdmk Y ŠDYA'n W yčn pr'c s'cynd blswm pr'c wstlynd³²⁹ W³³⁰ YDBHWNd dw'cdh hwm'st³³¹ st'dynd L 'whrmzd LWTE 'mhrspnd'n' 38) ZNE ZK LOYN YMRWNm³³² 39) pl'c YHMTWNyt³³³ pyššwt'n³³⁴ Y b'myk OL ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't OL 'lng³³⁵ W³³⁶ wyh lwt AMT dlwnd'n' OLE HZYTWNy³³⁷ BRA šk'yny³³⁸ OLEš'n twm twmk'n³³⁹ LA 'lc'nyk'n³⁴⁰

²⁸² K20 om.

²⁸³ K20 only -t. Better gwy'wt'.

²⁸⁴ K20 om.

²⁸⁵ K20 ywt. Better gwy'wt'.

²⁸⁶ K20 OBYDWNyt.

²⁸⁷ Better pšt.

²⁸⁸ In K20 written as bwn.

²⁸⁹ DH om.

²⁹⁰ K20 dwššdyn'.

²⁹¹ K20 pl'syp.

²⁹² K20 om.

²⁹³ K20 'lksndl.

²⁹⁴ K20 hlwm'dyk(k).

²⁹⁵ K20 om.

²⁹⁶ In DH follows W.

²⁹⁷ Better ŠNT.

²⁹⁸ K20 hwt'yh.

²⁹⁹ K20 st'lt.

³⁰⁰ DH gn'k.

³⁰¹ K20 ywt. Better gwy'wt'.

³⁰² K20 hldlwš. Better hldlwš or hldlwš.

³⁰³ Better stbwyh.

³⁰⁴ K20 adds Y.

³⁰⁵ K20 šwtk'n written as yhwtk'n.

³⁰⁶ DH om.

³⁰⁷ In K20 written as LYWHL.

³⁰⁸ In K20 follows Y.

³⁰⁹ K20 om.

³¹⁰ In K20 the -b- is inserted afterwards.

³¹¹ DH OBYDWNyt.

³¹² K20 ywt. Better gwy'wt'.

³¹³ K20 tyššwt'n.

³¹⁴ K20 om.

³¹⁵ In K20 -WN- written above the line over an erasure.

³¹⁶ Better 'wcdystc'l.

³¹⁷ DH nššmk.

³¹⁸ K20 wyl'.

³¹⁹ DH om.

³²⁰ DH om.

³²¹ K20 hwt'yh.

³²² K20 šk'yny.

³²³ K20 om.

³²⁴ K20 plnb'.

³²⁵ K20 om.

³²⁶ DH om.

³²⁷ In DH written as pylwckl.

³²⁸ Better 'wcdystc'l. In the middle of this word begins a lacuna in DH. It ends with the word wstlynd.

³²⁹ K20 wstly'nd.

³³⁰ DH om.

³³¹ In K20 the final stroke of this word is written at the beginning of the next line probably due to a misinterpretation of the scribe who read W.

³³² Better YMRRWNm.

³³³ K20 SGYTWNyt.

³³⁴ In K20 written almost as pyššwt'n.

³³⁵ K20 'lng.

³³⁶ DH om.

³³⁷ Better HZYTWNyt.

³³⁸ K20 šk'yny. Better škyny'.

³³⁹ Better twhmk'n.

³⁴⁰ K20 'lc'nykg'n. Final -g'n' is written below the line.

1) ZK Y¹ w'hl'm Y² wlc'wnd l'd pyt'k AYK PWN pwl GDEyh pr'c YHMTWNyt W wst'hm pr'c ASLWNyt' PWN g's Y mgwpt'n³ mgwptyh⁴ W g's Y wclt Y⁵ l'st Y dyn' gwm'lt' LAWHL wyl'yt⁶ ZNE 'yl'n MTA'n Y L 'whrmzd d't 2) W 'c W nyd'c W⁷ kyn⁸ W hyšm W wln W 'lšk W dlwndyh MN gyh'n' BRA nlpst⁹ 3) W gwlg 'wb'm BRA OZLWNyt' W myš 'wb'm BYN YATWNyt' 4) W 'twr Y plnb'g¹⁰ W¹¹ 'twr Y¹² gwšnsp¹³ W¹⁴ 'twr Y bwlcyntmtr' LAWHL OL g's Y NPŠE YTYBWNd W 'ysm¹⁵ W bwd¹⁶ d'tyh' BRA YHBWNd 5) W stlt¹⁷ W 'py'wš¹⁸ YHWWNyt' gnn'k¹⁹ mynwk dlwnd²⁰ LWTE ŠDYA'n W twm twhmk'n²¹ 6) 'ytwn' YMLLWNyt²² pyššwt'n²³ Y b'myk AYK MHYTWNt²⁴ YHWWN't ŠDYA²⁵ W MHYTWNt plyk MHYTWNt YHWWN't ŠDYA dlwcyh²⁶ W SLYtlyh W²⁷ MHYTWNt' YHWWN'nd twm twhmk'n²⁸

Chapter Eight

¹ K20 om.² Here begins a lacuna in DH. It ends with the words *pr'c ASLWNyt'*.³ DH *m'wpt'n'*.⁴ DH *m'wptyh*. Better *mgwpt'*.⁵ K20 om.⁶ DH *wyl'dyt*. Better *wyl'dyt*.⁷ DH om.⁸ DH *kyp*.⁹ DH *lpsyt*.¹⁰ K20 *plnb'*.¹¹ DH om.¹² DH om.¹³ K20 *gwšnšp*.¹⁴ K20 om.¹⁵ K20 *šm*.¹⁶ In K20 the *b-* is written below the line, correcting a *w*.¹⁷ K20 *st'lt*.¹⁸ DH *py'wš*.¹⁹ DH *gn'k*.²⁰ DH om.²¹ DH *wi twmk'n'*.²² K20 *YMRWNyt*.²³ K20 *pyššwt'n'*.²⁴ In K20 *-t* is written above the line.²⁵ Here begins a lacuna in DH. It ends with the words *W dlwc*.²⁶ DH *W dlwc*.

ŠDYA'n W 'pz'dyt²⁹ 'whrmzd³⁰ Y³¹ hwt'y Y mbst W d'n'k LWTE 'mhrspnd'n' hw hwt'n³² Y hw d'hk'n³³ W³⁴ GDE Y dyn' Y m'zdsn'n W 'pz'dyt dwtk Y l't'n W l'st'n Y³⁵ hwwlšt³⁶ wlcyt'l'n' W³⁷ hwp wyl'st'l³⁸ l't'n³⁹ W⁴⁰ l'st'n⁴¹ YHWWN't⁴² g's Y⁴³ dyn' W⁴⁴ hwt'yh⁴⁵ 7) pr'c YHMTWNyt' pyššwt'n' Y b'myk pr'c YHMTWNyt' LWTE 1 100 50⁴⁶ GBRA Y h'wšt' MNW syd' smwl⁴⁷ YHSNND W⁴⁸ OHDWND t'ht g's W⁴⁹ dyn' W⁵⁰ hwt'yh⁵¹ Y⁵² NPŠE 8) gwpt'š 'whrmzd OL spyt'm'n' zltwhšt' ZNE⁵³ ZK Y LOYN YMRWNm⁵⁴ AMT hc'lk Y⁵⁵ zltwhšt'n⁵⁶ sl YHWWNyt W⁵⁷ 'wlšytl'n' bwn YHWWNyt'

²⁷ DH *Y*.²⁸ K20 *twm twmk'n*.²⁹ In K20 this word is repeated twice, the first being an unerased error at the end of a line: *pyšy(t)*.³⁰ Here begins a lacuna in K20. It ends with the words *W GDE Y dyn'*.³¹ Only in DH, written above the line.³² DH only. Better *hw hwt'yh*.³³ Better *hw dhywk'n'*.³⁴ Here begins a lacuna in DH. It ends with the words *W l'st'n'*.³⁵ DH om.³⁶ In K20 *-t* is written over the line above a stain.³⁷ DH om.³⁸ DH *wyl'st'l'n'*.³⁹ K20 om.⁴⁰ K20 om.⁴¹ K20 om.⁴² K20 *b't* for *bw't*.⁴³ Barely readable in K20 where it is attached to the long tail of the preceding *-s*. DH *W*.⁴⁴ DH *Y*.⁴⁵ K20 *hwt'yh*.⁴⁶ K20 *100 50*.⁴⁷ In K20 preceded by *l*.⁴⁸ DH om.⁴⁹ Better *Y*.⁵⁰ DH om.⁵¹ K20 *hwt'yh*.⁵² K20 om.⁵³ K20 MS r. [*...JE*].⁵⁴ K20 *YMRWNm*.⁵⁵ K20 om.⁵⁶ K20 *LK*.⁵⁷ K20 om.

CHAPTER NINE

1) 'wšyt¹ l'd pyt'k AYK PWN 1 1000 W 6 100² ŠNT³ BRA YLYDWNYt⁴ W PWN 30⁵ ŠNTkyh OL hm pwrskyh Y⁶ L⁷ 'whrmz⁸ YHMTWNYt⁹ W⁹ dyn' MKBLWNYt¹⁰ 2) AMT MN hm pwrskyh¹¹ BRA YATWNYt' w'ng OBYDWNyt OL hwšyt 'lwnd 'sp AYK BRA YKOYMWYN 3) BRA YKOYMWNYt' hwšyt Y 'lwnd 'sp 10 YWM¹² šp'n 4) W AMT ZNE YHWWNYt hm'k ANŠWTA Y¹³ gyh'n PWN ŠPYL dyn¹⁴ Y¹⁵ m'zdysn'n¹⁶ BRA YKOYMWYNd 5) mtr' Y pl'hw y'wt¹⁷ KALA OBYDWNyt OL 'wšyt¹⁸ Y¹⁹ zltwhšt'n AYK 'wšyt²⁰ Y dyn' l'st' wyl'st' l' w'ng OBYDWN²¹ OL hwšyt Y 'lwnd 'sp AYK²² BRA SGYTWN ME t'lyk AYT²³ PWN kyšwl Y 'lzh²⁴ wlbwlš²⁵ W wwlwclš²⁶ W nym Y²⁷

Chapter Nine

¹ Better 'wšyt.

² DH 8 100. For a discussion on the causes of this discrepancy refer to the Commentary.

³ K20 om.

⁴ In DH -N- is written above the line.

⁵ DH 30.

⁶ In K20 written above the line. DH om.

⁷ In K20 written above the line.

⁸ K20 MS r. l(syt).

⁹ K20 om.

¹⁰ In K20 followed by the erasure of a word. In DH written as MKBLWNkt'.

¹¹ In DH follows Y.

¹² In K20 follows W.

¹³ DH om.

¹⁴ K20 ŠPYL (Y) dyn'.

¹⁵ K20 om.

¹⁶ DH m'zds'n.

¹⁷ K20 ywt. Better gwy'wt'.

¹⁸ K20 hwšyt. Better 'wšyt.

¹⁹ K20 om.

²⁰ Better 'wšyt.

²¹ DH OBYDWNy.

²² DH om.

²³ K20 AYT.

²⁴ Better 'lzh.

²⁵ Better w'wklwblš.

²⁶ Better w'wklwclš.

²⁷ Better nym l Y.

hwnyls²⁸ b'myk²⁹ 6) W³⁰ w'ng OBYDWNyt 'wšyt³¹ Y zltwhšt'n' OL hwšyt 'lwnd 'sp³² AYK BRA SGYTWN 7) BRA SGYTWNyt hwšyt 'lwnd 'sp Y³³ wlc'wnd³⁴ W³⁵ hm'k ANŠWTA PWN ŠPYL³⁶ dyn' Y m'zdysn'n³⁷ BRA HYMNND 8) gwptš 'whrmz³⁸ AYK spyt'm'n³⁹ zltwhšt ZNE ZK Y LOYN' YMRWNm³⁹ AYK ZNE d'm LAWHL⁴⁰ OL AYT'yh Y NPŠE HYTYWNYt' 9) W⁴¹ AMT nzdyk Y⁴² hc'lk sl⁴³ YHWWNYt' pyššwt'n' Y wšt'sp'n⁴⁴ OL pyt'kyh YATWNYt⁴⁵ GDE Y⁴⁶ ky'n' Y pylwcl⁴⁷ BRA OLE⁴⁸ YHMTWNYt 10) W ZK dwšmn MNW dlwcyh⁴⁹ QDM YTYBWNst⁵⁰ cygwn twlk W⁵¹ t'cyk W hlwm'yk⁵² W SLYt⁵³ ANŠWTA Y 'yl'nk⁵⁴ PWN cylyh W sthmbkyh W hwt'y dwšmnyh⁵⁵ SGYTWNd⁵⁶ W⁵⁷ 'thš MHYTWND W dyn⁵⁸ nz l OBYDWNd W 'm'wndyh

²⁸ In K20 all seven continents are mentioned. The passage is as follows: 'lc'h (recte 'lzh) W sw'h W pldtpšh (recte pldtpš) wydtpš W wlbšt (recte w'wklwblšt) W wlcwclp (though the last letter, ending in an area where the MS is deteriorated, could possibly be an irregular -r; recte w'wklwclšt) W hwnyls b'myk.

²⁹ DH om.

³⁰ K20 om.

³¹ Better 'wšyt.

³² In place of the last two words K20 reads w'ng OBYDWNyt.

³³ K20 om.

³⁴ DH wlc'wn'd.

³⁵ DH om.

³⁶ K20 MS r. wy(h).

³⁷ DH m'zds'n.

³⁸ K20 MS r. sp[...]'m'n.

³⁹ Better YMRWNm.

⁴⁰ K20 p'(c).

⁴¹ K20 om.

⁴² DH twice.

⁴³ K20 MS r. s(l).

⁴⁴ In K20 wšt'sp'n where the first book of the -š- is very close to the following one.

⁴⁵ K20 MS r. YATWN(y)[...] Y kyh. However there seems not to be enough space for the word GDE.

⁴⁶ DH om.

⁴⁷ In DH written as pylwcl.

⁴⁸ K20 om.

⁴⁹ K20 dlwcyh. This peculiar final -yh is common in K20 at the end of a line.

⁵⁰ In K20 -N- is written above the line.

⁵¹ DH om.

⁵² K20 hlwm'yk.

⁵³ DH SLYtlyh.

⁵⁴ In DH the erasure of two letters (k) precedes final -k.

⁵⁵ DH dwšmnyh.

⁵⁶ K20 MS r. [...]'TWNd.

⁵⁷ K20 om.

pylwcklyh⁵⁹ 'wbš⁶⁰ YBLWNd W ZK Y d't W dyn' KRA MNW k'mkyh⁶¹
 MKBLWNyt⁶² 'yn'y⁶³ 'k'mkyh⁶⁴ QDM MKBLWNyt⁶⁵ ZK⁶⁶ d't' W dyn hm'y⁶⁷
 MHYTWNd OD AMT⁶⁸ hc'lk sl YHWWNyt' 11) W AHL AMT⁶⁹ hc'lk Y⁷⁰
 'wšytlm'h⁷¹ YATWNyt' PWN 'wšytlm'h⁷² d'm lwh'ktl⁷³ nylwkl⁷⁴ YHWWNyt
 W dlwc Y⁷⁵ 'c cyhlk BRA znyt' W⁷⁶ pyššwt'n' Y⁷⁷ wš't'sp'n⁷⁸ hm gwn⁷⁹ dstwhl
 W lt Y gyh'n' YHWWNyt' 12) W⁸⁰ BYN ZK hc'lk Y 'wšytlm'h'n⁸¹ ANŠWTA
 PWN bcškyh 'ytwn' klwk YHWWNd d'lwkw W dlm'n' 'ytwn' PWN k'l
 YHYTYWNd⁸² W YBLWNd AMT⁸³ BRA OL mlgyl⁸⁴ Y d'tst'nyh ADYNŠ LA
 YMYTWNd⁸⁵ AMT PWN šmšyl W k'lt' MHYTWNd YKTLWNd⁸⁶ 13) AHL
 'hlmwk⁸⁷ HNA⁸⁸ MN h'hl⁸⁹ Y⁹⁰ d'sl Y 'dwyntyh BOYHWNyt⁹¹ SLYtlyh

⁵⁸ Here begins a lacuna in DH. It ends with the words KRA MNW.

⁵⁹ In K20 the MS is deteriorated and set at the beginning of a line. It is not possible to determine if a W, preceding this word and recorded by Anklesaria (1957, p. 76), was originally present.

⁶⁰ Better hcš.

⁶¹ K20 k'mkyh.

⁶² K20 MS r. (MK)BLWNyt.

⁶³ K20 [.] (d)tyh.

⁶⁴ In K20 written as 'k'mky'.

⁶⁵ In K20 followed by W.

⁶⁶ In K20 followed by Y.

⁶⁷ K20 hm'k.

⁶⁸ K20 hm'k.

⁶⁹ DH om.

⁷⁰ K20 om.

⁷¹ K20 'wšytlm'h.

⁷² K20 MS r. [.]šytBYRH.

⁷³ In DH followed by PWN.

⁷⁴ K20 om.

⁷⁵ K20 om.

⁷⁶ K20 om.

⁷⁷ In DH written above the line.

⁷⁸ DH om.

⁷⁹ In DH -n- is written above the line.

⁸⁰ K20 om.

⁸¹ K20 'wšytlm'h'n. Better 'wšytlm'h'n'.

⁸² K20 YHSNND.

⁸³ Better AYK.

⁸⁴ In DH written as mkyh.

⁸⁵ In K20 follows W.

⁸⁶ DH YKTLWNt'.

⁸⁷ K20 'hlmwk'h.

⁸⁸ K20 om.

'hlmwkyh l'd LA YHBWNd 14) W⁹² 'hlmwk⁹³ MN ZK kyn' 'hycyt⁹⁴ OL QDM
 ZK kw p Y dmb'wnd⁹⁵ MNW⁹⁶ bywl'sp lwn dl'yt AYK KON 9 1000 ŠNT⁹⁷
 AYT' plytwn' LA zywnk cym l'd AMT⁹⁸ LK ZNE hnd BRA⁹⁹ LA
 wwydwcyt¹⁰⁰ W¹⁰¹ QDM LA 'hycy¹⁰² MNW¹⁰³ ZNE gyh'n' pwl MN ANŠWTA
 AYT' APš'n' MN wl Y ym krt' QDM HYTYWNt' HWEd 15) AHL ZK 'hlmwk
 'ytwn¹⁰⁴ hm cygwn ZNE¹⁰⁵ dl'yt¹⁰⁶ MN ZK cygwn 'cydh'k MN hym Y ZK
 Y¹⁰⁷ plytwn' dysk PWN klp Y plytwn¹⁰⁸ LOYN¹⁰⁹ LALA YKOYMWNYt' ZK
 pltwm LA wydwcyt' OD AMT 'hlmwk¹¹⁰ ZK¹¹¹ hnd W¹¹² cwp MN hwn BRA
 wydwcyt 16) W AHL¹¹³ dh'k zwhl¹¹⁴ 'pz'yt hnd MN hwn BRA wydwcyt¹¹⁵
 dwh'šn' YKOYMWNYt W PWN gyw'k ZK¹¹⁶ 'hlmwk¹¹⁷ LAWHL 'wp'lyt W
 BYN gyh'n' dwh'šn¹¹⁸ wn's¹¹⁹ krt'n' W 'ml wn's Y gl'n' OBYDWNyt W MN

⁸⁹ In K20 b'hl, written almost as byhl.

⁹⁰ K20 om.

⁹¹ DH BOYHWNyt'.

⁹² DH om.

⁹³ K20 'hlmw.

⁹⁴ K20 'hycyt. In both manuscripts preceded by W.

⁹⁵ K20 dmb'wnd.

⁹⁶ Better W OL.

⁹⁷ DH om.

⁹⁸ Better AYK.

⁹⁹ K20 om.

¹⁰⁰ Better wydwcy.

¹⁰¹ K20 om.

¹⁰² K20 'hycyt.

¹⁰³ Better AYK.

¹⁰⁴ K20 om.

¹⁰⁵ DH om.

¹⁰⁶ In DH follows ZNE.

¹⁰⁷ DH om.

¹⁰⁸ K20 MS r. (klp Y p)lytwn'.

¹⁰⁹ In K20 written below the line, under LOYN.

¹¹⁰ K20 'hlmw.

¹¹¹ In K20 follows Y.

¹¹² DH om.

¹¹³ K20 MS r. AH[.].

¹¹⁴ Better z(')wl.

¹¹⁵ In DH w- is written above the line.

¹¹⁶ K20 om.

¹¹⁷ K20 MS r. 'hlmw[.].

¹¹⁸ K20 dwb'šn'.

¹¹⁹ In DH followed by Y.

mltwm¹²⁰ W¹²¹ TWRA W gwspnd W¹²² 'p'ryk d'm Y¹²³ 'whrmzd PWN 3
'ywk¹²⁴ LAWL 'wp'lyt' W¹²⁵ 'p' W¹²⁶ 'thš W 'wlwl znyt' W wn's Y gl'n'
OBYDWNyt¹²⁷ 17) W AHL¹²⁸ 'p W 'thš W 'wlwl LOYN' Y 'whrmzd Y
hwt'y¹²⁹ PWN glčšn¹³⁰ YKOYMWNYt 18) W glčšn' ZNE OBYDWNyt AYK
plytwn' zywndk LAWL OBYDWN OD¹³¹ 'cydh'k¹³² BRA YKTLWNyt¹³³ ME
HT LK 'whrmzd¹³⁴ ZNE LA OBYDWNyt¹³⁵ LNE PWN gytyk¹³⁶ LA š'ym
YHWWNtn' 19) 'thš YMRRWNyt AYK LA whšym W¹³⁷ MYA YMRRWNyt¹³⁸
AYK LA tcm¹³⁹ 20) W AHL L 'whrmzd Y d't'l OL slwš W¹⁴⁰ nylywsng¹⁴¹ yzdt'
YMLLWNm¹⁴² AYK¹⁴³ tn' Y¹⁴⁴ s'm'n¹⁴⁵ kls'sp BRA ymb'nynyt¹⁴⁶ OD QDM
'hycyt' 21) W¹⁴⁷ AHL slwš W¹⁴⁸ nylywsng¹⁴⁹ yzdt' OL kls'sp¹⁵⁰ OZLWNd 3 b'l
w'ng¹⁵¹ OBYDWNd 22) W ch'lw m h'l LWTE pylwcklyh¹⁵² s'm¹⁵³ QDM¹⁵⁴

'hycyt W¹⁵⁵ ptylk Y¹⁵⁶ 'cydh'k¹⁵⁷ OZLWNyt' APš¹⁵⁸ shwn¹⁵⁹ MNš¹⁶⁰ LA
'šnwyty¹⁶¹ APš gt¹⁶² Y pylwckl¹⁶³ OL sl ptkwpyt¹⁶⁴ W MHYTWNyt W¹⁶⁵
YKTLWNyt¹⁶⁶ 23) AHL¹⁶⁷ dlwšk W¹⁶⁸ ptyd'lk MN ZNE¹⁶⁹ gyh'n BRA
OZLWNyt' OD hc'lk hwn OBYDWNm¹⁷⁰ 24) W AHL swkš'ns¹⁷¹ d'm 'pyck¹⁷²
LAWL OBYDWNyt W¹⁷³ lyst'hyc¹⁷⁴ W tn Y psyn' BRA YHWWNyt'

col.

plept¹⁷⁵ PWN ŠRM W¹⁷⁶ š'tyh¹⁷⁷ W¹⁷⁸ l'mšn¹⁷⁹ PWN yzd'n' k'm¹⁸⁰
YHWWN't' 'ytwn' YHWWN't 'ytwn'tlc¹⁸¹ YHWWN't

¹²⁰ K20 MS r. mltw[.] TWRA.

¹²¹ K20 om.

¹²² K20 Y.

¹²³ DH om.

¹²⁴ K20 ywk.

¹²⁵ K20 om.

¹²⁶ K20 MYA.

¹²⁷ DH om.

¹²⁸ In K20 follows W.

¹²⁹ K20 hwt'.

¹³⁰ K20 glčšn.

¹³¹ In K20 O- is written above the line. In DH OBYDWNyt without the following OD.

¹³² K20 'cydh'k.

¹³³ K20 MHYTWNyt.

¹³⁴ In DH followed by LK.

¹³⁵ DH OBYDWNh.

¹³⁶ DH gytydy.

¹³⁷ DH Y.

¹³⁸ K20 YMRRWNyt.

¹³⁹ DH tcm.

¹⁴⁰ DH om.

¹⁴¹ DH nylydwksn'g.

¹⁴² K20 YMRRWNm.

¹⁴³ K20 om.

¹⁴⁴ K20 om.

¹⁴⁵ In DH follows Y.

¹⁴⁶ Better ywmbynyt'.

¹⁴⁷ K20 om.

¹⁴⁸ DH om.

¹⁴⁹ DH nylywsng.

¹⁵⁰ In DH written as gls'sp.

¹⁵¹ In DH written KALA.

¹⁵² In DH written as pylwcklyh.

¹⁵³ Better s'm'n.

¹⁵⁴ In DH follows Y.

¹⁵⁵ DH om.

¹⁵⁶ K20 om.

¹⁵⁷ K20 'cydh'k.

¹⁵⁸ K20 MNš.

¹⁵⁹ K20 shw.

¹⁶⁰ DH hc'.

¹⁶¹ K20 šngyt.

¹⁶² K20 gt written almost as dyn.

¹⁶³ DH pylwckl.

¹⁶⁴ DH ptkwpyt.

¹⁶⁵ K20 om.

¹⁶⁶ K20 YKTLWNyt.

¹⁶⁷ In DH followed by W.

¹⁶⁸ K20 om.

¹⁶⁹ K20 MS r. ZN[.].

¹⁷⁰ K20 MS r. (OBYDWN)[...]JHL.

¹⁷¹ K20 MS r. sw(š'ns d'm).

¹⁷² K20 MS r. ('pyc)[.] (LAWL)L.

¹⁷³ K20 om.

¹⁷⁴ K20 MS r. (lyst'h)[...] (t)n'.

¹⁷⁵ K20 plc'm.

¹⁷⁶ K20 om.

¹⁷⁷ K20 š'tyh.

¹⁷⁸ K20 om.

¹⁷⁹ K20 MS part. r. (l)šn.

¹⁸⁰ K20 k'mk.

¹⁸¹ K20 'ytwn't[.], Anklesaria (1957, p. 82, n. 7) suggests to read 'ytwn't ME in K20.

TRANSCRIPTION

*šnāyišn ī dādār ohrmazd ī weh, ī abzōnīg, ī abzāyēnīdār, ī rāyōmand, ī xwarrahōmand, ud amahraspandān. *āfrīnišn ī abēzag weh-dēn ī māzdēsnašn. tan-drustīh ud dagr-zīwišnīh ud ābād-xīrīh ōy rāy kē *nībēsīhēd.*

CHAPTER ONE

/1/ čiyōn az stūdgār paydāg kū zarduxšt az ohrmazd ahōšīh xwāst.

/2/ pas ohrmazd xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh be ō zarduxšt nīmūd.

/3/ u-š wan-ēw bun padīš be dīd kē čahār azg padīš būd, ēk zarrēn, ud ēk asēmēn, ud ēk pōlāwadēn, ud ēk <ī> āhan abar gumēxt *ēstād. /4/ ēg-iš pad ēd dāšt kū pad xwamn dīd. /5/ ka az xwarm be būd [u-š]*ā-š guft zarduxšt kū, xwadāy ī mēnōgān ud gētīgān, *nīmāyēd kū-m draxt-ēw bun be dīd kē čahār azg padīš būd.

/6/ guft-iš, ohrmazd, ō spitāmān zarduxšt kū, ān draxt-ēw bun kē tō dīd <ān gētīg ast ī man ohrmazd dād>. /7/ ān čahār azg ān čahār āwām ast ī rasēd. /8/ ān ī zarrēn ān ka man ud tō ham-pursēm ud wištāsp šāh dēn be padīrēd ud dēwān kāl bod be škennēd ud <dēwān az āškāragīh> ō wirēg ud nihān-rawišnīh ēstēnd. /9/ ud ān ī asēmēn xwadāyīh <ī> ardaxšīr ī kay-šāh. /10/ ud ān ī pōlāwadēn xwadāyīh <ī> anōšag-ruwān husraw ī kawādān. /11/ ud ān ī āhan abar gumēxt *ēstād duš-pādixšāyīh <ī> dēwān ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmag, ka dahom sadōzam ī tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt.

CHAPTER TWO

/1/ pad zand ī wahman yasn ud hordād yasn ud aštād yasn paydāg kū *ēw bār gizistag mazdak ī bāmdādān ī dēn-petyārag ō paydāgīh āmad u-šān petyārag pad dēn ī yazadān kard.

/2/ ud ān <I> anōšag-ruwān husraw ī <kawādān> *māhdād, ud šābuhr ī dādohrmazd ī ādurbādagān dastwar, ud ādur farrbay ī a-drō, ud ādurbād <I> ādurmühr, ud baxtāfrīd ō pēš xwāst. /3/ u-š paymān aziš xwāst kū, ēn yasnīhā pad nīhān ma dārēd, be pad paywand ī ašmā zand ma čāšēd. /4/ awēšān andar husraw paymān kard.

CHAPTER THREE

/1/ pad zand <I> wahman yasn paydāg kū zarduxšt az ohrmazd dudīgar bār ahāšīh xwāst. /2/ u-š guft, *an kū zarduxšt ham, andar ēd dāmān ī tō ahlawtar ud kardārtar, dādār, ka man ahāš be kunēh, čiyōn wan ī jud-bēš ud gōbedāh ud jōšt ī friyān ud *čīhrōmēhan ī wištāspān -- *ēd <I> pišōtan ī bāmīg ast -- ka man ahōš be kunēh čiyōn awēšān, pad dēn ī tō weh wurrōyēnd, kū, ōy dēn-burdār kē-š abēzag weh-dēn ī māzdēsna az ohrmazd be padīrift ahōš be būd. ēg awēšān mardōmān pad dēn ī tō weh wurrōyēnd.

/3/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, ka tō ahōš be kunam, spitāmān zarduxšt, ēg tūr ī brādarōš ī karb ahāš be bawēd, ud ka tūr ī brādarōš ī karb ahōš be bawēd ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn kardan nē šāyēd.

/4/ zarduxšt pad menišn dušxwār sahist. /5/ ohrmazd pad xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh dānist kū-š čē menīd, spitāmān zarduxšt ī ahlaw frawahr. /6/ u-š ān ī zarduxšt dast frāz grift u-š -- ohrmazd, mēnōg <I> abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān <I> astōmandān ī ahlaw -- u-š xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh pad āb kirb abar dast ī zarduxšt kard u-š guft kū, frāz xwar. /7/ ud zarduxšt aziš frāz xward. u-š xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh frāz pad zarduxšt andar gumēxt. /8/ haft rōz-šabān zarduxšt andar ohrmazd-xradīh būd.

/9/ u-š be dīd, zarduxšt, pad haft kišwar zamīg mardōmān ud gōspandān, kū har ēk mōy čand tāg pad pušt ud tāg tāg sar ō kū dārēd. /10/ u-š be dīd dār ud draxt, kē hāmōyēn čand rēšag ī urwarān pad spandarmad zamīg, kū čiyōn rust ēstēd ud kū gumēxt ēstēd.

/11/ u-š haftom rōz-šabān xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh az zarduxšt abāz stad. /12/ zarduxšt pad ēd dāšt kū, pad xwamn ī xwaš ī ohrmazd dād dīd? az xwamn nē *guhrād ham. /13/ u-š har dō dast burd, ān ī xwēš kirb abāz mālīd kū, dagr zamān xuft ēstam ud nē *guhrād ham az ēn xwamn ī xwaš ī ohrmazd dād.

/14/ guft-iš ohrmazd ō spitāmān zarduxšt kū-t čē dīd pad xwamn ī xwaš ī ohrmazd dād?.

/15/ guft-iš zarduxšt kū, ohrmazd, mēnōg ī abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān ī astōmandān, dīd ham hangad ī was-xwāstag kē pad tan husraw ud ruwān kirs {nizār} ud pad dušox būd, u-m nē burzišnīg sahist. /16/ u-m dīd driyōš ī nēst-xīr ī ačārag, u-š ruwān frabīh <ud> pad wahišt <būd>, u-m burzišnīg sahist. /17/ u-m dīd tuwānīg <I> nēst-frazand, u-m nē burzišnīg sahist. /18/ u-m dīd škōh ī was-frazand, u-m burzišnīg sahist. /19/ u-m dīd draxt-ēw kē haft azg padīš būd, ēk zarrēn, ud ēk asēmēn, ud ēk rōyēn, ud ēk brinjēn, ud ēk arzižēn, ud ēk pōlāwadēn, ud ēk <I> āhan abar gumēxt *ēstād.

/20/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, spitāmān zarduxšt, ēn ān ī ō pēš gōwam. /21/ draxt-ēw bun ī tō dīd, ān gētīg ast ī man ohrmazd dād. /22/ ud ān haft azg ī tō dīd, ān haft āwām ast ī rasēd.

/23/ ud ān ī zarrēn xwadāyīh ī wištāsp šāh, ka man ud tō dēn ham-pursēm, wištāsp šāh dēn be padīrēd, ud dēwān kāl bod be škennēd; ud dēwān az *āškāragīh ō <wirēg ud> nīhān-rawišnīh ēstēnd, ud ahreman ud dēwān <ud> wištūdagān abāz ō tār <ud> tom <I> dušox dwārēnd ud pahrēz ī āb ud ātaxš ud urwar ud spandarmad zamīg paydāg bawēd.

/24/ ud ān ī asēmēn xwadāyīh ī ardaxšīr ī kay, [ka]*kē wahman ī spandyādān xwānīhēd, kē dēw az mardōmān judāg kunēd; be *pālāyēd hamāg gēhān, dēn rawāg kunēd.

/25/ ud ān ī rōyēn xwadāyīh ī ardaxšīr ī gēhān ārastār ud wirāstār ud ān ī šābuhr šāh, [ka]*kē gēhān ī man ohrmazd dād ārāyēd, bōxtagīh pad *dāmān ī gēhān rawāg kunēd. ud wehīh paydāg be bawēd. ud ādurbād ī pērōz-baxt ī dēn-rāst-wirāstār pad rōy ī <widāxt> passāxtag ēn dēn abāg jud-ristagān <pahikārēd ud> abāz ō rāstīh āwarēd.

/26/ ud ān ī brinjēn xwadāyīh ī aškānān šāh, kē jud-ristagīh <I> but az gēhān be barēd, ud ān ī druwand *aleksandar *ī *kilīšāyīg az ēn dēn be *abesihēd <ud> az gēhān wany ud abaydāg šawēd.

/27/ ud ān ī arzižēn xwadāyīh ī wahrām [r] gōr šāh, [ka]*kē mēnōg ī rāmišn *wēnābdāg kunēd, ud ahreman abāg jādūgān abāz ō tār ud tom ī dušox dwārēnd.

/28/ ud ān ī pōlāwadēn xwadāyīh ī husraw ī kawādān šāh, [ka]*kē gizistag mazdak ī bāmdādān ī dēn-petyārag, <I> abāg jud-ristagān ēstēd, az ēn dēn abāz dārēd.

/29/ ud ān ī āhan abar gumēxt *ēstād <duš-pādišāyīh ī dēwān ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmag> [spitāmān zarduxšt hazārag sar ī tō] ka sadōzam ī dahom ī <hazārag ī> tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt.

/1/ guft-iš zarduxšt kû dādār ī gēhān ī astōmandān, mēnōg ī abzōnīg, daxšag ī sadōzam ī dahom čē bawēd?

/2/ guft-iš ohrmazd kû, spitāmān zarduxšt, rōšn kunam. daxšag ī hazārag <> tō sar bawēd <kû>, /3/ ān ī nidom āwām rasēd. ēk-sad ēwēnag, ud hazār ēwēnag ud bēwar ēwēnag dēwān ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmag /4/ az kustag ī xwarāsān, ān ī nidom-tōhmag, ō ērānšahr dwārēnd. ul-grift-drafs hēnd, syā zēn barēnd ud wars wizārd ō pušt dārēnd ud xwurdag ud nidom-bunīg <ud> nērōg-kār-zanišn <ud> pēšyār-wiš hēnd.

/5/ spitāmān zarduxšt, ān ī xēšm-tōhmag wišūd u-š bun nē paydāg. /6/ pad jādūgīh ul dwārēnd ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād. /7/ čiyōn was tis sōzēnd ud wināhēnd, ud mān az mānīgān ud deh az dahigānān. ud āzādīh ud wuzurgīh ud dahigānīh ud dēn-rāstīh ud paymān ud *zēnhār ud rāmišn ud harwisp dahišn ī man ohrmazd dād, ud ēn dēn <> abēzag ī mādēsān, ud ātaxš ī wahrām <> pad dād-gāh nišāst ēstēd ō nēstīh rasēd, ud zanišn ud *apparišn be ō paydāgīh rasēd. /8/ ud ān ī wuzurg rōstāg šahr-ēw ud ān ī wuzurg šahr deh-ēw, ud ān ī wuzurg deh dūdāg-ēw, ud ān ī <wuzurg> dūdāg āstānag-ēw be bawēd.

/9/ spitāmān zarduxšt pad *anāg-kāmagīh ud sāstārīh ud duš-pādišāyīh be kanēnd ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād. /10/ awēšān dēwān ī wizārd-wars frēftār hēnd {kû ān ī gōwēnd nē kunēnd} ud wattar-dēn hēnd {kû ān ī nē gōwēnd kunēnd}. /11/ u-šān pašt ud paymān ud rāstīh ud ēwēn nēst, ud zēnhār nē dārēnd, ud pad pašt ī kunēnd abar nē ēstēnd. /12/ pad frēftārīh ud āz ud duš-pādišāyīh be kanēnd ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād.

/13/ andar ān āwām, spitāmān zarduxšt, hamāg mardōm frēftār be bawēnd, kû ēk ō did rāy wad xwāhēnd ud mihr <> wuzurg jud-gōnag be bawēd. /14/ ud āzarm ud dōšāram ud ruwān-dōstīh az gēhān be šawēd. /15/ mihr ī pid az pus, ud brād az brād be šawēd, ud dāmād az xwasrū jud-dēs be bawēd, ud mādar az duxtar judāg ud jud-kāmag be bawēd.

/16/ ka sadōzam ī *dahom ī tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt, xwaršēd rāsttar ud nihangtar ud sāl ud māh ud rōz kamtar. /17/ ud spandarmad zamīg tangtar ud rāh nihangtar. /18/ ud bar tōhm be nē dahēd ud bar ī jōrdāyān pad dah hašt be kāhēd, ud dō be abzāyēd ud ān ī be abzāyēd spēd nē bawēd. /19/ ud urwar ud dār ud draxt be kāhēd. ka sad be stānēd nawad be kāhēd, ud dah be abzāyēd ud ān ī be abzāyēd *xwārom ud čāšnīg nē

bawēd. /20/ ud mardōm kōdaktar *zāyēnd u-šān hunar ud nērōg kam ud frēftārtar <ud> wattar-dārtar bawēnd ud spās ud āzarm ī nān ud namak nē dārēnd, u-šān dōšāram pad *dūdāg nē dārēnd. /21/ ud andar ān ī wattom āwām murw-*ēw āzarm wēš dārēd kû ōy ēr [i] *ud dēn-burdār mardōm. /22/ u-šān dahišn *pad-kār kam, u-šān kār ud kirbag az dast kam rawēd, ud hamāg sardagān ud jud-kēšān ō awēšān anāgīh-xwāstār bawēnd. /23/ ud hamāg gēhān nasā-nigānīh ud nasā-wistarišn be bawēd. /24/ ud nasā nigānīdan ud nasā šustan ud nasā sōxtan, ō āb ud ātaxš burdan, ud nasā xwardan pad dād gīrēnd ud nē pahrēzēnd. /25/ pad kār ud kirbag ī wuzurg hangārēnd ud druwandīh ud rāh ī dušox wirāyēnd. ud abārōnīh <ud> penīh ud wiyābānīh ī xēšm ud āz rāy ō dušox dwārēnd. /26/ ud andar ān ī škaft āwām, spitāmān zarduxšt, pādišāyīh ī xēšm ī xurduš ud dēw ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmag, ān ī nidom-bunīg, pad ērān dehān mardōmān frāz rawēnd. /27/ ud dēnīgān kē ēbyānghan pad kust dārēnd ēg-šān pādyābīh dāstan nē tuwān. /28/ čē pad ān ī nidom āwām nasā ud hīx owōn was bawēd kû mard gām ō gām be nihēd pad nasā rawēd. /29/ *ayāb ka pad baršnūm šōyēd, pāy az may be nihēd, pad nasā rawēd. /30/ *ayāb ka pad nasā-kadag ī awēšān barsom pad frāz wistarēd ud drōn frāz yazēd, pādišā bawēd. /31/ *ayāb pad ān ī nidom āwām yazišn ī pad dō mard pādišā bawēd kardan, tā ēn dēn pad nēstīh ud nizārīh nē rasēd. pad sad, pad hazār, pad bēwar ēk-ēw bawēd kē pad ēn dēn wurrōyēd, ud ān-iz ī wurrōyēd kār aziš nē kunēd. ud ātaxš ī wahrām be ō nēstīh ud nizārīh rasēd, az hazār abāz ō ēk pahrēzēnd, ud ān-iz ēsm ud bōy dādīhā padīš nē dahēnd. /32/ *ayāb ka mard-ēw <i> yašt kard ēstēd ud nērangestān nē dānēd ud pad weh-*menišnīh be abrōzēd pādišā bawēd.

/33/ xwāstāg ud *āzarmīgīh hamāg be ō jud-kēšān ud jud-ristagān rasēd. /34/ ud kirbakkār ī nēk az dūdāg ī āzād-mardān ud mow-mardān be ō wišād-dwārīšnīh ēstēnd. /35/ ud xwurdagān duxt ī āzādagān ud wuzurgān ud mow-mardān pad zanih gīrēnd. /36/ ud āzādagān ud wuzurgān ud mow-mardān be ō škōhīh <ud> bandagīh rasēnd. ud *zanīn ud xwurdag be ō wuzurgīh ud pādišāyīh rasēnd. ud ačāragān ud xwurdagān be ō pēšgāhīh ud rāyēnīdārīh rasēnd.

/37/ ud gōwišn ī dēn-burdārān ud muhr [ud] *ī wizurd [ud] *ī dādwar ī rāst, gōwišn ī rāstān ud ān-iz ī ahlawān [hangēzēnīgān] *anōstīgān be bawēd, gōwišn ī xwurdagān ud spazgān, ud abārōnān, ud afsōsgarān, ud ān ī drō-dādestānān rāst ud wābar dārēnd. /38/ ud sōgand pad drō [pudiš]

xwarēnd, ud zūr-gugāyīh padīš dahēnd, ud zūr ud ānāst abar man ohrmazd gōwēnd.

/39/ awēšān kē pad hērbēdīh ud hāwīštīh nām barēnd ēk ō did rāy wad xwāhēnd ud āhōg gōwēnd ud āhōg abar nigerēnd u-šān ahreman ud dēwān petyārag abar wēš burd ēstēd. /40/ ud az wināh ī mardōmān kunēnd az panj wināh sē wināh hērbēdān ud hāwīštān kunēnd, ud wehān dušmen bawēnd. {kū ēk ō did rāy wad <ud> āhōg padīš gōwēnd. ud yazišn padīrēnd <ud> nē kunēnd, ud bīm az dušox nē dārēnd}.

/41/ ud andar ān ī dahom sadōzam ī hazārag ī tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt, hamāg mardōm āz-parist ud xwāstag-dēn be bawēnd. /42/ ud abr-ēw ī kāmgar ud wād ī ardā pad hangām ud zamān ī xwēš wārān kardan nē šāyēd. /43/ ud hamāg asmān abr ī nizm šabēnēd. /44/ ud ān ī garm wād ud ān ī sard wād rasēd, ud bar ud tōhm ī jōrdāyān be barēd. /45/ wārān-iz pad hangām ī xwēš nē wārēd <ud> ān-iz ī wārēd xrafstar wēš wārēd kū āb. /46/ ud āb ī rōdān ud xānīgān be kāhēd ud abzāyīšn be nē bawēd. /47/ ud stōr ud gāw ud gōspand kōdaktar zāyēnd ud wad-hunartar zāyēnd, ud bār kam stānēnd ud mōy kamtar ud pōst tanuktar ud šīr nē abzāyēd ud čarbišt kam dārēd. /48/ ud gāw <ī> warzāg nērōg kam ud asp ī arwand hunar kam <ud> pad tāg kam barēd.

/49/ ud mardōm pad ān ī škoft āwām, spitāmān zarduxšt, kē kustīg pad mayān dārēnd, *anāg-xwāstārīh ī duš-pādixšāyīh ud was ān ī drō- *dādestānān ī-š abar mad ēstēd, ī-šān zīndagīh andar nē abāyēd, margīh pad āyaft xwāhēnd. /50/ ud juwānān ud aburnāyān pīm-menišn be bawēnd, u-šān wiyufsišnīg wāzīg ud rāmišn az dil abar nē āyēd. /51/ ud jašn ud nihādag ī pēšēnagān ud usōfrīt ī yazadān ud yašt ud yazišn ud gāhānbār ud frawardīgān gyāg gyāg kunēnd ud ān-iz ī kunēnd padīš abēgumānīhā nē wurrōyēnd. /52/ ud pādāšn dādīhā nē dahēnd. ud dāšn ud ahlawdād nē dahēnd, ud ān-iz ī dahēnd abāz *abaxšīhēnd. /53/ ud ān-iz ī weh-dēn mardōm kē ēn dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnān *stāyīd ēstēd, pad ān ī awēšān rāh ud *ristag, brahmag <ud> *rawīšnīh frāz rawēnd u-šān pad ān ī xwēš dēn nē wurrōyēnd. /54/ ud āzād ud wuzurg ud *dahīgān ī nēk az deh ud gyāg ī xwēš pad *uzdehīgīh az bun-gyāg ud dūdag ī xwēš be šawēnd. ud az xwurdagān ud wattārān tis pad niyāz xwāhēnd, ō driyōšīh ud ačāragīh rasēnd. /55/ ēn mardōm pad dah nō pad kust ī abāxtar be abesīhēnd.

/56/ pad awēšān duš-xwadāyīh har tis ō nēstīh ud ačāragīh ud sabukīh ud *anāstīh rasēd. /57/ ud spandarmad zamīg dahān abāz wišāyēd, ud har gōhr ud ayōxšust ō paydāgīh rasēd, čiyōn zarr ud asēm ud rōy ud arzīz ud

*surb. /58/ ud xwadāyīh ud pādixšāyīh ō anērān-bunīgān rasēd, čiyōn hyōn <ud> turk ud xadur ud tōbīd, čiyōn. *hindūg ud kōfyār ud *čīnīg ud *kābulīg ud subdīg ud hrōmāyīg ud *karmūr-hyōn ud spēd-hyōn. pad ērān dehān ī man <ohrmazd dād> *pādixšā bawēnd; framān ud kāmāg ī awēšān pad gēhān rawāg be bawēd. /59/ pādixšāyīh az awēšān dawāl-kustīgān ud tāzīgān ud hrōmāyīgān be ō awēšān rasēd.

/60/ awēšān ēdōn *duš-pādixšā be bawēnd, kū ka mard-ēw <ī> ahlaw ī nēk ōzanēnd <ayāb> magas-ēw pad čašm ī awēšān har dō ēk bawēd. /61/ ud darbās ud hangadīh ud ābādīh ud deh ud dūdag ud xwāstag ud dastagird ud kahās ud rōd ud xānīg ī ērān weh-dēnān ō awēšān anērān rasēd. ud spāh ud marz ud drafš ō awēšān rasēd, ud xēšm-kāmāgīh <ud duš-> xwadāyīh pad gēhān rawēnd. /62/ ud āz čašm ī awēšān az xwāstag purr nē bawēd. ud xwāstag ī gēhān gird kunēnd, ud azēr ī zamīg nihān kunēnd. /63/ ud druwandīh rāy kūnmarz ud daštānmarz ī was kunēnd, ud waran ī abārōn was warzēnd. /64/ ud andar ān ī škoft āwām šab rōšntar. ud sāl ud māh ud rōz sē-ēk-ēw be kāhēd. ud spandarmad zamīg abar āyēd. ud sēj <ud> margīh ud niyāzōmandīh pad gēhān saxttar bawēd.

/65/ guft-iš ohrmazd ō spitāmān zarduxšt, ēn ān ī pēš gōwam, /66/ ōy druward gannāg mēnōg, [ka]*kē be abāyēd abesīhēnīdan, stambagtar <ud> duš-pādixšāyīhtar bawēd.

/67/ ēdōn guft ohrmazd ō spitāmān zarduxšt kū, be *xwān <ud> warm be kun pad zand <ud> pāzand, ud wizārīšn be čāš, ō hērbēdān ud hāwīštān gōw ud pad gēhān frāz gōwēnd. awēšān kē az sadōzam nē āgāh hēnd, ēg-šān gōwēnd, ēmēd ī tan ī pasēn rāy, bōxtārīh ī ruwān ī xwēš rāy, harg ud anāgīh <ud> petyārag ī awēšān jud-dēnān ud dēwēsān abar gīrēnd <ud> be barēnd. /68/ u-t ēn-iz gōwam, spitāmān zarduxšt, kū, kē pad ān āwām tan xwāhēd, ruwān bōxtan nē tuwān, čē tan frabīh, ruwān kirs {nizār} pad dušox. kē ruwān xwāhēd, tan kirs {nizār}, pad gētīg škōh ud driyōš, u-š ruwān frabīh pad wahišt.

CHAPTER FIVE

/1/ pursīd zarduxšt az ohrmazd kū, ohrmazd, mēnōg ī abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān <ī> astōmandān, ahlaw, {hād, ohrmazd pad ahlaw xwānišn ud abārīg pad stāyīšn. ast kē dādār <ī> ahlaw gōwēd} dādār, pad ān ī škāft āwām

ahlaw bawēnd ud dēnīg bawēnd kē kustīg pad mayān dārēnd ud dēn pad barsom yazēnd? u-šān dēn ī xwēdōdah pad dūdag rawēd?

/2/ guft-iš ohrmazd ō spitāmān zarduxšt kū, mardān ī pahlom ān bawēd kē andar ān ī škoft āwām kustīg pad mayān dārēd ud dēn pad barsom yazēd [nē] <ēdōn čiyōn> pad xwadāyīh <I> wištāsp šāh. /3/ kē andar ān ī škoft āwām /iθā āi yazamaidē u ašm vohū/ be gōwēd <ud> warm kard ēstēd ēdōn čiyōn andar xwadāyīh ī wištāsp šāh dwāzdah-hōmāst-ēw ī pad zōhr <yašt kard>. /4/ ud kē-š yašt kard ēstēd ud gāhān srūd ēstēd owōn čiyōn ka[-š] pad xwadāyīh ī wištāsp šāh yašt-wāz <ud> srūd-gāhān *būd hē. /5/ ahlaw ī ahlawān ī pahlom ān bawēd kē pad weh-dēn ī māzdēsnañ ēstēd u-š dēn ī xwēdōdah pad dūdag rawēd.

/6/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, spitāmān zarduxšt, andar ēn nō hazār sāl ī man ohrmazd dād, mardōm ī andar ān ī škoft āwām škofttar bawēnd. /7/ čē, andar duš-xwadāyīh ī azdahāg ud frāsyāb ī tūr, mardōm ī andar ān ī škoft āwām weh-zīyīšntar ud wēš-zīyīšntar būd hēnd, u-šān petyārag az ahreman ud dēwān kamtar būd <hēd>. /8/ čē andar ān ī awēšān duš-xwadāyīh andar ērānšahr gyāg ud deh ī awērān nē būd <hēnd>, čiyōn ān ī ka hazārag ī tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt. /9/ čē hamāg ērān dehān pad asp sumb <I> awēšān be kanīhēd, awēšān drafš andar ō padīšxwārgar rasēd. ud gāh ud dēn <pad> *stahm-pādixšāyīh az ānōh be barēnd, u-šān zarišn [az]*andar ān gyāg rasēd.

/10/ spitāmān zarduxšt, ēn ān ī pēš gōwam. /11/ kē az astān ēdōn pad yazišn abar ō weh, kē ohrmazd rāy yazišn wēš kunēd. ohrmazd āgāh az ahlāyīh, čegām-iz-ēw. {kū, kār ud kirbag mīzd ud pādāšn ohrmazd āgāh az ahlāyīh dahēd}. hanjamanīgān narān ud mādagān yazam. {ud amahraspandān kē nar-iz mādag-iz, awēšān weh hēnd}.

CHAPTER SIX

/1/ pursīd zarduxšt az ohrmazd kū, ohrmazd, mēnōg ī abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān ī astōmandān, ahlaw, az kū abāz wirāyēnd ēn dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnañ? ud pad čē abzār be zanēnd ēn dēwān ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmagān? /2/ dādār man ōš dah ud āwādagān ī man ōš dah kū nē [ēd]*ē *zīyēnd andar ān ī škoft āwām. gišnag *zīyīšnīh dah kū druwandīh ud rāh ī dušox nē wirāyēnd.

/3/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, spitāmān zarduxšt, pas az nišānag ī syā pādixšāyīh [az]*ō awēšān xēšm-tōhmagān az sarmān dehān, druz ī *šēdāsp <I> *kilīšāyīg <rasēd> {hād māhwīndād guft kū hrōmāyīg bawēnd ud rōšan guft kū suxr kulāh ud suxr zēn ud suxr drafš bawēnd. hād ka daxšag ī awēšān bawēd}. /4/ ka be āyēnd, spitāmān zarduxšt, xwaršēd nizm nišān nimāyēd ud az gōnag wardēd, pad gēhān nizm ud tom ud tārigīh bawēd, pad asmān nišānag ī gōnag gōnag paydāg bawēd, ud būm-čandag ī was bawēd, ud wād stambagtar āyēd ud pad gēhān niyāz ud tangīh ud dušxwārīh wēš ō dīdār āyēd ud tīr ud ohrmazd wattarān rāy pādixšāyīh rāyēnēnd.

/5/ ēk sadgānag ud ēk hazārgānag ud bēwargānag bawēnd druz ī *šēdāsp <I> *kilīšāyīg, drafš ī suxr dārēnd, u-šān <pad> rawišn was tāzēnd ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād tā arang bār {hād būd kē frāt rōd guft}, tā ō yōnān ī asūrestān-*mānišn {hād yōnān saxt-āmār u-š asūrig-mānišnīh ēd kū mardōm ī asūrig padīš *mānēnd} ud ān ī awēšān nišēmag {hād būd kē gilistag ī dēwān guft}. /6/ ēdōn be ōzanēnd ān ī awēšān xēšm-tōhmagān sadgānag ud hazārgānag ud bēwargānag ud abāz wardēnd. drafš, nišān ud amar spāh ī awēšān dēwān ī wizārd-wars be rasēnd ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād. ud hēn ī frāx-anīg, dušmen turk ud karmīr {hād ul-drafš hēnd čē drafš ul gīrēnd. hād pad was maragīh ō ērān dehān čiyōn buš ī asp be ēstēnd}. turk ī dawāl-kustīg <ud> hrōmāyīg ī *šēdāsp ī *kilīšāyīg pad ham-rasišnīh frāz rasēnd. /7/ ud pad ham-kōxšīšnīh pad sē gyāg *ardīg ī wuzurg sē bār [būd] bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt. /8/ ēk pad xwadāyīh ī kāūs [ka] pad ān ī dēwān abāgīh abāg amahraspandān. /9/ ud dudīgār ka tō, spitāmān zarduxšt, dēn *padīrē ud ham-pursagīh ī tō <bawēd; ud> wištāsp šāh ud arjāsp ī xēšm-wištūd pad kārezār ī dēn pad ham-kōxšīšnīh ī pad spēd razūr {hād būd kē andar pārs guft} <pahikārēnd>. /10/ ud sidīgār ka hazārag ī tō sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt, ka ān har sē ō ēd gyāg rasēd ud turk ud tāzīg ud *hrōmāyīg {hād būd kē dašt ī *nišānag guft}. hamāg ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād az gāh ī xwēš be ō padīšxwārgar rasēd {hād būd kē ādur gušnasp pad war ī čēčast ī *zofr ī garmō-āb ī jud-dēw <guft>. hād ānōh-iz dēn paydāg. hād būd kē māhīg guft. *ādurōy guft kū *karzang}. ēdōn pad tāzišn bawēd pad ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād az xēšm-tōhmagān, spitāmān zarduxšt, kū <az> ēn mardōm ō-y ī padīšxwārgar ud pārs ud sūrāg-*mānišn ud kōf-*mānišn ud daryā-*mānišn ēg-iš nihang be mānēd. /11/ čē ka šōy xwēš be tuwān bōxtan ēg-iš zan ud frazand ud xwāstag ayād nē bawēd.

/12/ ud pas zarduxšt guft kū, dādār, man oš dah, āwādagān ī man oš dah kū ma <ē> zīyēnd andar ān ī škoft āwām.

/13/ <guft-iš ohrmazd kū, bīm ma dār spitāmān> zarduxšt, čē ān rōz ka sadōzam <ī dahom ī> hazārag ī tō sar bawēd [ī zarduxštān ka] ēč-ēw druwand az ēn hazārag andar ān hazārag nē šawēd.

CHAPTER SEVEN

/1/ puršt zarduxšt az ohrmazd kū ohrmazd mēnōg <ī> abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān <ī> astōmandān, ahlaw, ka awēšān ēdōn was marag hēnd pad čē abzār be šāyēnd abesiherūdan?

/2/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, spitāmān zarduxšt, ka dēw ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm-tōhmag ō paydāgīh āyēd pad kust ī xwarāsān nazdist nišān ī syā paydāg bawēd. zāyēd ušēdar ī zarduxštān pad war ī frazdān {hād <būd> kē pad *zrēh <ī> kayānsē guft. hād būd kē pad *kāwulistān guft}. /3/ pad sīh-sālagīh ō ham-pursagīh <ī> man, ohrmazd, rasēd, spitāmān zarduxšt {<hād būd kē> pad kust ī čīnestān guft. hād būd kē andar hindūgān guft}. /4/ zāyēd kay-ēw {hād pid ī ōy kay az kayān tōhmag} pad ayārīh ō ušēdar <ō> hindūgān šawēd. /5/ pad ēk-sad-sālagīh kāmag ō zanān bawēd u-š aziš zāyēd kay-ēw ī dēnīg, wahrām ī warzāwand nām xwānēd {hād būd kē šābuhr guft}. /6/ <pad dēn paydāg> kū ān šab ka ān kay zāyēd nišān ō gēhān rasēd, stārag az asmān wārēd. ka ōy kay zāyēd stārag nišān nīmāyēd {hād dādohrmazd guft kū ābān māh ud wād rōz}. pidar ī ōy kay frazām bawēd <ud> pad kanīgān ī šāh parwarēnd. xwadāy zan-ēw bawēd.

/7/ ōy kay ka sīh-sālag bawēd {hād būd *kē āwām guft} pad amar drafš spāh ī hindūg ud *čīnīg ul-grift-drafš hēnd {čē drafš ul girēnd}, abrāstag-drafš hēnd ud abrāstag-zēn hēnd pad tāzišn ul tāzēnd tā weh rōd {<hād> būd kē būm-ēw deh guft} tā andarag [bār] bahl ud bahlān, spitāmān zarduxšt. /8/ ka stārag ī ohrmazd ul ō *bālist rasēd ud anāhid rāy frōd abganēd, xwadāyīh ō kay rasēd, was amar gund *zēnāwand <ud> ārāstag drafš hēnd. /9/ {hād būd kē az sēstān ud pārs ud xwarāsān <guft>. hād būd kē az war ī padišxwārgar guft. hād būd kē az *harēw kōfestān guft. hād būd kē az tabarestān guft}.

/10/ ud az ān kustag aburnāyag-ēw <ī> anāstār be ō paydāgīh āyēd {hād drafš ī ārāstag ud was marag spāh ī padišxwārgar az ērānšahr zēnīgān ud gund ud spāh. <hād> būd kē guft kū kurd-iz kirmān-iz xwānēnd. *nē

paydāg}. /11/ <pad dēn paydāg> kū pad ham-ayārīh <ud> ham-drafš ō ēn ērān dehān <rasēnd ud> was marag be ōzanēnd awēšān xēšm-tōhmagān ī *šēdāsp <ud> hēn ī frāx-anīg <ud> dām gurg ī dō zang ud dēw ī dawāl-kustīg. /12/ pad *arang bār sē kārezār kunēnd, <ēk pad ...>, ēk pad *spēd razūr ud ēk pad dašt ī *nišānag. /13/ {hād būd kē guft kū, pad war ī sē-tōhmag. ud būd kē guft kū, andar marw ī šēdān. hād būd kē andar pārs guft}. /14/ ō pušt ī ērān dehān amar spāh ī *xwarāsānīg abrāstag-drafš hēnd {<hād> kū drafš ī *babr pōst dārēnd. u-šān wād-drafš <ī> *bandag <ī> spēd}. /15/ ud amar [ul] spāh nixwārēnd tā ō gilistag ī dēwān. ēdōn be ōzanēnd kū hazār zan pas mard-ēw wēnēnd ud be xwāhēnd.

/16/ ka zamān sar bawēd, spitāmān zarduxšt, ud awēšān dušmenān ēdōn be abesiherūdan čiyōn draxt-ēw bun ka pad *ēw šab [ī] zamestān ī sard abar rasēd ud pad ēd šab warg be abganēd. /17/ abāz wirāyēnd ēn ērān dehān ī man, ohrmazd, dād. /18/ ud pad dwārīšn dwārēd gannāg mēnāg abāg dēwān ud waitar-tōhmagān ud xēšm ī *xurdruš. be ō pušt ud ayārīh ī awēšān dēwēsnān ud xēšm-tōhmagān rasēd, spitāmān zarduxšt. /19/ ud man, dādār ohrmazd, frēstam nēryōsang yazad ud srōš ahlaw be kangdiz ī syāwaxš ī bāmīg kard, be čīhrōmēhan ī wištāspān <ī> kayān xwarrah ī dēn-rāst-wirāstār kū ēd pišōtan ī bāmīg frāz raw ō ēn ērān dehān ī man, ohrmazd, dād ud <pad> ātaxš <ud> ābān frāz yaz hādōxt ud dwāzdah-hōmāst {hād pad ātaxš <ud> ābān frāz yaz, ān ī pad ātaxš <ud> ābān paydāg}.

/20/ ud rawēd nēryōsang yazad ud srōš ahlaw az weh čagād ī dāyī ō kangdiz ī syāwaxš ī bāmīg kard aziš wāng kunēnd kū, frāz raw pišōtan ī bāmīg, čīhrōmēhan ī wištāspān <ī> kayān xwarrah ī dēn-rāst-wirāstār frāz raw ō ēn ērān dehān ī man, ohrmazd, dād. abāz wirāy gāh ī dēn ud xwadāyīh. /21/ awēšān mēnōgīhā abar rawēnd u-šān yazēnd dwāzdah-hōmāst ī pad zōhr.

/22/ ud frāz rawēd pišōtan ī bāmīg abāg ēk-sad ud panjāh mard ī ahlaw kē hāwišt ī pišōtan hēnd pad syā samār ud jāmag pad mēnōg weh dārēnd. ul rawēnd pad humat ud hūxt ud huwaršt ud <pad> ātaxš [ī] *ud ābān frāz yazēnd hādōxt ud bayān yasn. frāz stāyēnd man, ohrmazd, abāg amahraspandān. /23/ ud pas az ān be škennēd petyārag sē-ēk-ēw.

/24/ frāz rawēd pišōtan ī bāmīg abāg ēk-sad ud panjāh mard kē syā samōr dārēnd ō ādur ī xwarrahōmand ī rōšn kirb xwānēnd pad dād-gāh nišāst ī dān ī ādur farrbay ī pērōzgar. u-š pad ham-zōtīh yazišn frāz sāzēnd, barsom frāz wistarēnd ud yazēnd hordād ud amurdād yasn pad nērang ud nērangestān ī dēnīg. /25/ ud škennēd petyārag sē-ēk-ēw.

/26/ frāz rawēd pišōtan ī wištāspān pad ham-ayārīh ī ādur farrbay, ud ādur gušnasp, ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr ō *uzdēszār ī wuzurg, nišēmag ī druwand gannāg mēnāg. xēšm ī xurdrūš, ud hamāg dēwān, ud druzān, ud wad-tōhmagān, ud jādūgān ō ān ī zofāyitom dušox rasēnd. be kanēnd ān *uzdēszār pad ham-kōššīšnīh ī pišōtan ī bāmīg.

/27/ ud man, dādār ohrmazd, abāg amahraspandān, ō gar ī hukairyāt āyēm ud framāyēm ō amahraspandān kū gōwēnd ō hamāg yazadān ud mēnōgān kū, rawēd ud rasēd ō ayārīh ī pišōtan ī bāmīg. /28/ ud mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd, ud srōš <ī> tagīg, ud rašn ī rāst, ud wahrām ī amāwand, ud aštād ī pērōzgar <ud> xwarrah ī dēn ī māzdēsnān, nērōg ī rāyēnīdārīh ī gēhān ārāstār pad framān ī /29/ man, dādār, ō pušt *rasēnd ō ayārīh ī pišōtan ī bāmīg. /30/ be zanēnd dēwān [ī] *ud tom-tōhmagān.

/31/ wāng kunēd gannāg mēnōg ī druwand ō mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd kū, pad rāstīh ul ēst, tō, mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd.

/32/ ud pas mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd wāng kunēd kū, ēn nā hazār sāl pašt-*ēw ī-š kard tā nūn dahāg ī dujdēn, ud frāsyāb ī tūr, ud aleksandar ī hrōmāyīg, ud awēšān dawāl-kustīgān dēwān ī wizārd-wars ēk hazār *sāl āwām wēš az paymān xwadāyīh kard.

/33/ ud stard bawēd ān druwand gannāg mēnōg ka ēdōn āšnūd. /34/ mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd be zanēd <ud> xēšm ī *xurdrūš pad *stōwīh dwārēd. /35/ ān druwand gannāg mēnōg abāg wištūdagān ud wad-tōhmagān abāz ō tūr ud tom ī dušox dwārēd.

/36/ ud wāng kunēd mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd ō pišōtan ī bāmīg kū, be kan, be zan ān *uzdēszār ī dēwān nišēmag. raw ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād abāz wirāy gāh <ī> dēn ud xwadāyīh. ud abar druwandān ka tō wēnē be škennē.

/37/ ud abar rasēd pišōtan ī bāmīg ud ādur ī farrbay, ud ādur ī gušnasp, ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr ī pērōzgar be zanēd ān druz ī was-ōz, be kanēd ān *uzdēszār kū nišēmag ī dēwān. ud yazišn frāz sāzēnd, barsom frāz wistarēnd. ud yazēnd dwāzdah-hōmāst, stāyēnd man ohrmazd abāg amahraspandān.

/38/ ēn ān <ī> pēš *gōwam. /39/ frāz rasēd pišōtan ī bāmīg ō ēn ērān dehān ī man ohrmazd dād, ō arang ud weh rōd. ka druwandān ōy *wēnēd be *škennēd awēšān tom-*tōhmagān nē arzanīgān.

/1/ ān ī wahrām ī warzāwand rāy paydāg kū pad purr-xwarrahīh frāz rasēd ud wistaxm frāz bandēd pad gāh ī mowbedān *mawbed ud gāh ī wizurd ī rāst ī dēn gumārd, abāz wirāyēd ēn ērān dehān ī man, ohrmazd, dād. /2/ ud āz, ud niyāz, ud kēn, ud xēšm, ud waran, ud arešk, ud druwandīh az gēhān be nirfsēd. /3/ ud gurg āwām be šawēd ud mēš āwām andar āyēd. /4/ ud ādur ī farrbay, ud ādur ī gušnasp, ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr abāz ō gāh ī xwēš nišānēnd ud ēsm ud bōy dādīhā be dahēnd. /5/ ud stard ud abē-ōš bawēd gannāg mēnāg <ī> druwand abāg dēwān ud tom-tōhmagān.

/6/ ēdōn gōwēd pišōtan ī bāmīg kū, zad bawād dēw, ud zad parīg, zad bawād dēw-druzīh ud wattarīh, ud zad bawānd tom-tōhmagān <ud> dēwān. ud abzāyēd ohrmazd ī xwadāy ī mahist ud dānāg abāg amahraspandān, hu-*xwadāyān ī hu-*dahīgān, ud xwarrah ī dēn ī māzdēsnān. ud abzāyēd dūdāg ī rādān ud rāstān ī huwaršt warzīdārān. ud xūb wirāstār rādān ud rāstān bawād <ī> gāh ī dēn ud xwadāyīh.

/7/ frāz rasēd pišōtan ī bāmīg frāz rasēd abāg ēk-sad panjāh mard ī hāwišt kē syā samār dārēnd ud girēnd taxi-gāh [ud] *ī dēn ud xwadāyīh ī xwēš.

/8/ guft-iš ohrmazd ō spitāmān zarduxšt ēn ān ī pēš gōwam ka hazārag ī zarduxštān sar bawēd ud *ušēdarān bun bawēd.

/1/ *ušēdar rāy paydāg kū pad ēk hazār ud šaš-sad sāl be zāyēd ud pad sīh-sālagīh ō ham-pursagīh ī man ohrmazd rasēd ud dēn padīrēd. /2/ ka az ham-pursagīh be āyēd wāng kunēd ō xwaršēd <ī> arwandāsp kū, be ēst! /3/ be ēstēd xwaršēd ī arwandāsp dah rōz-šabān. /4/ ud ka ēn bawēd hamāg mardōm ī gēhān pad weh-dēn ī māzdēsnān be ēstēnd.

/5/ mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd wāng kunēd ō *ušēdar ī zarduxštān kū, *ušēdar ī dēn-rāst-wirāstār wāng kun ō xwaršēd ī arwandāsp kū be raw čē tārig ast pad kišwar ī arzah <ud> *wōrūbaršt ud *wōrūjaršt ud nēm<-ēw> ī xwanirah <ī> bāmīg.

/6/ ud wāng kunēd *ušēdar ī zarduxštān ō xwaršēd <ī> arwandāsp kū, be raw! /7/ be rawēd xwaršēd <ī> arwandāsp ī warzāwand. ud hamāg mardōm pad weh-dēn ī māzdēsnān be wurrōyēnd.

/8/ guft-iš ohrmazd kū, spitāmān zarduxšt, ēn ān ī pēš gōwam kū ēn dām abāz ō astīh ī xwēš ānayēd. /9/ ud ka nazdīk ī hazārag sar bawēd pišōtan ī wištāspān ō paydāgīh āyēd, xwarrah ī kayān ī pērōzgar be <ō> ōy rasēd. /10/ ud ān dušmen kē druzīh abar nišāst čiyōn turk ud tāzīg ud hrōmāyīg ud wattar <az> mardōm ī ērānag pad čērīh ud stambagīh ud xwadāy-dušmenīh rawēnd ud ātaxš zanēnd ud dēn nizār kunēnd ud amāwandīh <ud> pērōzgarīh [awiš]*aziš barēnd. ud ān ī dād ud dēn, har kē kāmāgīhā padīrēd enyā a-kāmāgīhā abar padīrēd - ān dād ud dēn - hamē zanēnd tā ka hazārag sar bawēd.

/11/ ud pas ka hazārag ī ušēdarmāh āyēd pad ušēdarmāh dām rawāgtar <ud> nērōgtar bawēd. ud druz ī āz-čīhrag be zanēd. ud pišōtan ī wištāspān ham-gōnag dastwar ud rad ī gēhān bawēd. /12/ ud andar ān hazārag ī *ušēdarmāhān mardōm pad bizeškīh ēdōn kirrōg bawēnd, dārūg ud darmān ēdōn *pad-kār āwarēnd ud barēnd [ka]*kū be ō margīh ī dādestānīh ēg-iš nē mīrēnd <be> ka pad šamšēr ud kārd zanēnd ōzanēnd.

/13/ pas ahlomōy ēd az bahr ī dās^r ī ēwēnagīh xwāhēd wattarīh <ud> ahlomōyīh rāy nē dahēnd. /14/ ud ahlomāy az ān kēn āxēzēd ō abar ān kōf ī dumbāwand [kē]*ud <ō> bēwarāsp rōn drāyēd kū nūn nō hazār sāl ast <kū> frēdōn nē zīndag, čim rāy [ka]*kū tō ēn band be nē *wiyōzē ud abar nē āxēzēh [kē]*kū ēn gēhān purr az mardōm ast, u-šān az war ī jam-kard abar ānīd hēnd. /15/ pas ān ahlomōy ēdōn hain-čiyōn ēn drāyēd, az ān čiyōn azdahāg az bīm ī ān ī frēdōn dēsag <i> pad kirb ī frēdōn pēš ul ēstēd ān fradom nē wiyōzēd, tā ka ahlomōy ān band ud čōb az bun be wiyōzēd. /16/ ud pas dahāg *zōr abzāyēd, band az bun be wiyōzēd, <pad> dwārišn ēstēd ud pad gyāg ān ahlomōy abāz ōbārēd. ud andar gēhān dwārišn wināh kardan. ud amar wināh ī garān kunēd ud az mardōm ud gāw ud gōspand ud abārīg dām ī ohrmazd pad sē-ēk-ēw abāz ōbārēd. ud āb ud ātaxš ud urwar zanēd ud wināh ī garān kunēd.

/17/ ud pas āb ud ātaxš ud urwar pēš ī ohrmazd ī xwadāy pad garzišn ēstēd. /18/ ud garzišn ēn kunēd kū frēdōn zīndag abāz kun tā azdahāg be ōzanēd čē agar tō, ohrmazd, ēn nē kunēh amā pad gētīg nē šāyēm būdan. /19/ ātaxš gōwēd kū, nē waxšēm ud āb gōwēd kū, nē tazam.

/20/ ud pas man ohrmazd ī dādār ō srōš ud nēryōsang yazad gōwam kū tan ī sāmān keresāsp be *jumbēnēd tā abar āxēzēd. /21/ ud pas srōš ud nēryōsang yazad ō keresāsp šawēnd, sē bār wāng kunēnd. /22/ ud čahārom bār abāg pērōzgarīh *sāmān abar āxēzēd ud padīrag ī azdahāg šawēd u-š saxwan aziš nē āšnawēd u-š gad ī pērōzgar ō sar pahikōbēd ud zanēd ud

ōzanēd. /23/ pas drōšag ud petyārag az ēn gēhān be šawēd tā hazārag bun kunam.

/24/ ud pas sōšāns dām abēzag abāz kunēd, ud ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn be bawēd.

/Col/ frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn pad yazadān kām bawād ēdōn bawād ēdōntar-iz bawād.

TRANSLATION

ZAND Ī WAHMAN YASN¹

Praise of the Creator *Ohrmazd*, good, bountiful, <all>-increasing, majestic and glorious, and of the *Amahraspand*. Blessings unto the pure good religion of the Mazdeans. Health, long life and material prosperity to him <for> whom <this book> is written.

CHAPTER ONE

/1/ As is revealed in the *Stūdgar*, *Zarduxšt* sought immortality from *Ohrmazd*.

/2/ Then *Ohrmazd* showed the wisdom of omniscience to *Zarduxšt*.

/3/ And therewith he saw the trunk of a tree on which were four branches, one of gold, one of silver, one of steel, and one on <which> iron had been mixed. /4/ Then he considered² that he had seen it in a dream. /5/ Once woken from sleep, *Zarduxšt* said, "O Lord of spiritual and material beings, it seems that I have seen the trunk of a tree on which were four branches".

/6/ *Ohrmazd* said to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "The tree trunk that you have seen, <that is the material world which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created>. /7/ Those four branches are the four epochs that will come. /8/ The one of gold is that during which I and you converse, and king *Wištāsp* accepts the religion and breaks the bodies of the *dēws* and <the *dēws*, from the condition of being visible>, take to flight and hiding³. /9/ And the one of silver is the reign <of> *Ardaxšīr* the Kayanid king. /10/ And the one of steel is the reign <of> *Husrāw* of immortal soul, son of *Kawād*. /11/ And the one on which iron had been mixed is the evil rule <of> the parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*, when it will be the end of your tenth century, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*.

¹ The title is not found in any of the MSS.

² Translates *pad ēd dāšt*.

³ Translates *nihān-rawišnīh*.

CHAPTER TWO

/1/ In the *zand* of the *Wahman Yasn* and of the *Hordād Yasn* and of the *Aštād Yasn* it is revealed that once the accursed *Mazdak* son of *Bāmdād*, the adversary of the religion, appeared. And <his followers>⁴ brought detriment to the religion of the *yazads*.

/2/ And *Husraw* of immortal soul, son of <*Kawād*> summoned before <him> **Māhdād*, *Šābuhr* of *Dādohrmazd*, *Dastur* of *Ādurbādagān*, *Ādur Farrbay* the honest, *Ādurbād* <of> *Ādurmihr*, and *Baxtāfrīd*. /3/ And he asked an agreement from them, "Do not keep these *Yasnas* in concealment, but do not teach the *zand* outside your offspring". /4/ They made the agreement with *Husraw*.

CHAPTER THREE

/1/ In the *zand* <of> the *Wahman Yasn* it is revealed that *Zarduxšt* sought immortality from *Ohrmazd* for a second time. /2/ He said, "Creator, if you make me immortal, I who am *Zarduxšt*, the most righteous and the most active among these creatures of yours, as the tree of antidotes, and *Gōbedšāh*, and *Ĵōšt* of the *Friy*, and *Čīhrōmēhan* son of *Wištāsp* -- he <who> is the glorious *Pūšōtan* -- if you make me immortal like them, <many> will better believe in your religion, <thinking>, "That believer who has received the pure good religion of the Mazdeans from *Ohrmazd* has become immortal". Then those men will better believe in your religion".

/3/ *Ohrmazd* said, "If I make you immortal, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, then the *Tūr Brādarōš*, the *karb*, will be immortal, and if the *Tūr Brādarōš*, the *karb*, will be immortal it will not be possible to perform the Resurrection of the Dead and the Final Body.

/4/ *Zarduxšt*, in thought, was displeased. /5/ *Ohrmazd*, through the wisdom of omniscience, knew what he, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt* of the righteous *frawahr*, thought. /6/ He took the hand of *Zarduxšt*, he -- *Ohrmazd*, the bountiful spirit, the Creator of the world <of> material beings⁵, holy -- put his wisdom of

omniscience, in the form of water, on the hand of *Zarduxšt*⁶ and said, "Drink". /7/ And *Zarduxšt* drank of it. He blended the wisdom of omniscience in *Zarduxšt*. /8/ Seven days and nights was *Zarduxšt* in the wisdom of *Ohrmazd*.

/9/ *Zarduxšt* saw on the earth of the seven continents the men and the cattle, <so well> that of each one <he knew> how many hairs were on the back and which way every single one pointed. /10/ He saw plants and trees, that is to say⁷ all the roots of the plants in the earth, *Spandarmad*, how they have grown and where they have mingled⁸.

11/ On the seventh day and night he took back the wisdom of omniscience from *Zarduxšt*. /12/ *Zarduxšt* considered, "<What> have I seen in the pleasant dream created by *Ohrmazd*? <Yet> I have not woken from sleep". /13/ He raised both <his> hands, rubbed his own body <and thought>, "For a long time I have slept and <yet> I have not woken from this pleasant dream created by *Ohrmazd*".

14/ Said *Ohrmazd* to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "What have you seen in the pleasant dream created by *Ohrmazd*?"

15/ *Zarduxšt* said, "*Ohrmazd*, bountiful spirit, Creator of the world of material beings, I have seen⁹ a rich man of much property who was honoured in the body and thin {weak} in the soul and was in hell, and it did not seem praiseworthy to me. /16/ And I saw a poor man lacking everything and needy, his soul was fat <and was> in paradise, and it seemed praiseworthy to me. /17/ And I saw a powerful man without offspring, and it did not seem praiseworthy to me. /18/ And I saw a poor man endowed with much offspring, and it seemed praiseworthy to me. /19/ And I saw a tree on which were seven branches, one of gold, one of silver, one of copper, one of brass, one of lead, one of steel and one on <which> iron had been mixed."

/20/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, this is what I foretell. /21/ The trunk of the tree that you saw, that is the material world that I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. /22/ And those seven branches that you saw, those are the seven epochs that will come.

/23/ The one of gold is the reign of king *Wištāsp* when I and you converse

⁶ Compare the Persian version (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, p. 87.7-8): *ohrmazd xrad-e harvisp-āgāh-e xiš bemānande-ye āb bar dast-e zarātošt nehād*.

⁷ Translates *kē*.

⁸ The Pahlavi word order of paragraphs nine and ten cannot be rendered in English if not with a considerable degree of freedom.

⁹ Translating *dīd ham*, a transition form to NP. verbal conjugation.

⁴ The enclitic pronoun *-šān* indicates a plural.

⁵ For *astōmand* see Gignoux (1979).

about the religion <and> king *Wištāsp* accepts the religion and breaks the bodies of the *dēws*; and the *dēws*, from the condition of being visible, will take to <flight and> hiding, and *Ahremen*, the *dēws* <and> the abortions will crawl back to the darkness <and> obscurity <of> hell. And the defence of water, fire, plants and the earth, *Spandarmad*, will be revealed.

/24/ The one of silver is the reign of *Ardaxšīr* the *Kay*, who will be called *Wahman ī Spandyādān*, who will separate the *dēws* from the men; he will purify the whole world, <and> will make the religion current.

/25/ The one of copper is the reign of *Ardaxšīr*, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of king *Šābuhr* who will arrange the world created by me, *Ohrmazd*, <and> will make salvation current among the creatures of the world. And goodness will be visible. And *Ādurbād* of victorious fate, true restorer of the religion <will dispute about> this religion with the heretics <and>, by the procedure of <molten> copper, will bring it back to truth.

/26/ The one of brass is the reign of the Arsacid kings, who will rid the world of the heresy of the Buddha and <by whom> the evil Alexander the Ecclesiastic¹⁰ will be cancelled from the religion¹¹ <and> he will be lost to the world and become invisible.

/27/ The one of lead is the reign of king *Wahrām Gōr*, who will render visible the spirit of peace, and *Ahremen* together with the sorcerers will crawl back to the darkness and obscurity of hell.

/28/ The one of steel is the reign of king *Husraw* son of *Kawād*, who will keep away from this religion the accursed *Mazdak*, son of *Bāmdād*, adversary of the religion, <who> stands together with the heretics.

/29/ The one on which iron had been mixed <is the evil dominion of the parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*,> when it will be the end of the tenth century of your <millennium>, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*.

¹⁰ Translates: **aleksandar ī kilīsāyīg*. In all other occurrences the epithet *kilīsāyīg* qualifies *Šēdāsp*.

¹¹ This passage is found only in MS K20 and, unfortunately, in a partially ruined area of the MS. It reads as follows *MN ZNE dyn' BRA 'psyh(y)[.]: az ēn dēn be 'abesihēd*. However the Persian version reads (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, p. 88.6-7) *iskandar 'kalise šāh bāšād va dīn-e 'beh rā tabāh konad* which would suggest a Pahlavi original *MNW ZNE dyn' BRA 'pshyny: kē ēn dēn be abesihēnēd*. This latter version would reflect the description of Alexander in other Pahlavi text as *Bundahišn* 33.14 (TD1 91v.1-6, DH 221v.21-222r.4): *pas andar xwadāyih ī dārāy ī dārāyān 'aleksandar kēsar az hrōm dwārist ō ērānšahr āmad, dārāy šāh ōzad, hamāg dūdag ī xwadāyān, 'mowmardān, ud paydāgān <ī> ērānšahr 'abesihēnēd, was marag ataxš afsārd, dēn ī māzdešnān zand stad ō hrōm 'frēstēd, abēstāg sōxt, ērānšahr pad nawad kardag xwāday <ih> baxt*.

/1/ *Zarduxšt* said, "Creator of the world of material beings, bountiful spirit, what will be the sign of the tenth century?"

/2/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, I will make it clear. The sign of the end of your millennium will be <that> /3/ the least of periods will arrive. One hundred kinds, one thousand kinds, a myriad kinds of parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*, /4/ those of very mean stock, will creep into *Ērānšahr* from the side of *Xwarāsān*. They will have raised banners, will wear black armour and have the hair parted to the back, and will be small and of lowest stock and of mighty blows and will piss venom.

/5/ O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, the origin of those born of the seed of *Xēšm* is not revealed. /6/ Through sorcery they will creep forth¹² to these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. /7/ Then they will burn and destroy many things, and <will take> the house from the members of the household and the village from the villagers. The status of Freeman, the status of Grandee, the status of *Dehqān*, the truth of the religion, treaties, sanctuary, peace, all the creations that I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, this pure religion of the Mazdeans, and the *Wahrām* Fire <that> has been established in the Fire Temple, <all> will come to nought, and smiting and theft will reveal themselves. /8/ And the great province will become a city, and the great city a village, and the great village a sept, and the <great> sept a single family¹³.

/9/ O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, through ill will, tyranny and evil rule they will raze these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. /10/ Those parted hair *dēws* are deceivers {they do not do what they say} and of worse religion {they do what they do not say}. /11/ For them there is no pact, nor treaty, nor truth, nor manners, and they have no <respect for> sanctuary, and do not stand by the agreement that they <themselves> make. /12/ Through deceit, greed and evil rule they will raze these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created.

/13/ In those times, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, all men will be deceivers, in that they will desire evil of one another, and the great bonds will be altered.

/14/ And honour, love and piety will disappear from the world. /15/ The bond of the father towards the son, of the brother towards the brother will disappear,

¹² Translating *ul dwārēnd*. The preverb *ul* together with verbs of movement has the meaning "forth". See also ZWY 7.7 and 7.22.

¹³ Cf. NP. *āstāne*: "threshold", here used to represent a single house. For a general discussion of these terms refer to the Commentary.

and <the bond> of the son-in-law towards the father-in-law will be altered, and the mother and the daughter will be separate and of contrasting will¹⁴.

16/ When it will be the end of your tenth century, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, the sun will be more direct¹⁵ and smaller, and the year, the month and the day shorter. /17/ And the earth, *Spandarmad*, more confined, and the path narrower. /18/ And the fruit will not give seed, and the fruit of the grains will decrease by eight every ten, and <only> two will grow, and those which will grow will not be white. /19/ And vegetables, plants and trees will decrease. Out of one hundred they will decrease by ninety, and ten will grow, and those which will grow will have neither flavour nor taste. /20/ And men will be born smaller, will have little skill and strength, will be more deceiving <and> of worse law, will have neither gratitude nor respect for hospitality, and will feel no love for the household. /21/ And in those worse times a bird will have more respect than the Iranian and pious man. /22/ And to them giving will be less necessary and from their hands will proceed few good deeds, and all sorts <of men> and <chiefly> those of other faiths will be malevolent towards them. /23/ And the whole world will be burying dead matter and spreading <around> dead matter. /24/ And they will accept it as lawful to bury dead matter, to wash dead matter, to burn dead matter, to bring it to water and fire, and <even> to eat dead matter and will not refrain <from it>. /25/ They will reckon <these> as great good deeds and will cultivate unrighteousness and the path to hell. And on account of the sin, the meanness, and the deception of *Xēšm* and *Āz* they will go to hell. /26/ In those hard times, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, the authority of *Xēšm* of the bloody club and of the parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*, those of lowest stock, will proceed unto the men of the *Ērān*ian lands. /27/ And the religious ones who wear the sacred girdle on the sides will, then, not be able to maintain ritual purity. /28/ Because in those lowest times there will be so much dead matter and so much excrement that a man with every step will go onto dead matter. /29/ Or when he will cleanse through *baršnūm*, <as soon as> he will step out of the pit, he will go on dead matter. /30/ Or when he will spread

¹⁴ On this passage compare Yt. 10.116-17. Possibly the original text read *ud āzarm ud dōšāram ud ruwān-dōstih az gēhān be šawēd. mihr ī pid az pus, ud brād az brād [be šawēd], ud dāmād az xwasrū jud-dēs be bawēd, ud mādar az duxtar judāg ud jud-kāniag be bawēd*.

¹⁵ The corresponding passage in the Persian version (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, p. 89.8) reads: *xoršid tiztar gozarad*.

forth the *barsom*¹⁶ on their houses of dead matter and celebrate the *drōn*, it will be authorized. /31/ Or, in those lowest times, it will be permitted to perform religious rites by means of two men, so that this religion may not come to nought and become feeble. In one hundred, in one thousand, in a myriad there will be only one that will believe in this religion, and even he who will believe will not perform the actions consequent¹⁷. The *Wahrām* Fire will come to nought and become feeble, out of a thousand they will care <only> for one and even that they will not duly feed with firewood and incense. /32/ Or, if a man <who> will have performed worship without knowing the *Nērangestān*, will kindle it with good intention, <that> will be authorized.

/33/ Wealth and honour will all go to infedels and heretics. /34/ And the good beneficent ones from households of Freemen and of Mobeds will go about without the sacred girdle. /35/ And plebeians will marry the daughters of Freemen, Grandees and of Mobeds. /36/ Freemen, Grandees and Mobeds will become poor <and> slaves. And women and plebeians will reach the status of Grandees and sovereignty. And the poor ones and the plebeians will obtain front rank and power.

/37/ And the words of the pious ones, the genuine seal of the true judge, the words of true ones and also those of righteous ones will be <considered> unreliable, <while> they will hold as true and trustworthy¹⁸ the words of the plebeians, of the slanderers, of the sinful ones, of the mockers and those of the ones of deceitful judgement. /38/ And they will swear oath through deceit, and on that they will give false testimony, and they will pronounce falseness and slander on me, *Ohrmazd*.

/39/ Those who will be known as priest and disciples¹⁹ will wish the evil of one another and will say false things and will consider impure things²⁰ and *Ahremen* and the *dēws* will have conveyed evil onto them <even> more. /40/ And three out of five sins that men commit will be committed by priest and disciples and they will be enemies of the good ones. {That is, they will tell

¹⁶ The technical term *barsom* (*pad*) *frāz wistardan* renders Av. *barasman - fra-star-*, see Bartholomae (1903, col. 947-9, 1002, 1595-7).

¹⁷ Translating *aziš*.

¹⁸ Translating *rāst ud wābar*.

¹⁹ Rendering *hērbedih ud hāwištih*. Lit.: "those who will have a name in priesthood and discipleship". Worthy of note is the abstract ending *-ih* used for a profession.

²⁰ Here *āhōg* has been translated once "false things" and once "impure things". For the semantic range of *āhōg* consider not only the standard meanings "fault, blemish", but also Mmp. **hwg*: "defilement" and NP. *āhu*: "fault, vice".

had and false things one of the other. And will accept <payment for> the religious rites but will not perform them, and they will not have fear of hell}.

/41/ And in the tenth century which will be the end of your millennium, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, all men will be worshippers of *Āz* and of the religion of wealth. /42/ And a mighty cloud and the righteous wind will not be able to produce rain at the proper time and moment. /43/ And clouds of haze²¹ will darken the whole sky. /44/ And the hot wind and the cold wind will arrive and take away the fruit and seed of grains. /45/ And even the rain will not pour in its proper time <and> even that <little> which will rain, more *xrafstar* will rain than water. /46/ And the water of the rivers and of the springs will decrease, and there will be no increase. /47/ And horses, cows, and sheep will be born smaller and of inferior skills, and will take little burden and will have less hair and <their> hide will be thinner, and they will not produce much milk, and will have little fat. /48/ And there will be few oxen <of> ploughing strength, and there will be few horses <endowed> with the virtue of swiftness, <and> each will bear little <weight>.

/49/ And in those hard times, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, <on account> of the malevolence of the evil rule, and of the many of deceitful judgement²² who will have arrived, life will not be necessary to the men who will wear the sacred girdle on the waist²³, and they will desire death as if a gift. /50/ And the young ones and the children will have sorrowful thoughts, merry games and gaiety will not come out of their hearts. /51/ And the <religious> festivals, the foundations for the ancestors, the offerings to the *yuzads*, the worship²⁴ and the religious rites²⁵, the *Gāhānbārs*, and the *Frawardīgān* will be celebrated only in some places²⁶ and even those who will celebrate them, will not without doubts believe in them. /52/ They will not duly give the retribution <for priestly work>. And they will give no gifts and alms, and even those who will give them will regret <doing so>. /53/ And even those men of the good religion who will have praised this good Mazdean religion, will go forth following their path and sect, their <own> manner and behaviour, and will not believe in their own religion.

/54/ And the good Freeman, the good Grandee and the good *Dehqān* <all> will go in exile from their own villages and places, they will go <away> from their places of origin and from their own families. In need they will beg things from the plebeians and the worst ones, and <finally> will be reduced to poverty and need. /55/ Nine out of ten of these men will perish in the direction of the north.

/56/ On account of their evil rule all things will come to nought, need, indifference and destruction. /57/ The earth, *Spandarmad*, will open <her> mouth and all gems and metals, like gold, silver, copper, tin and lead²⁷, will be revealed. /58/ And lordship and sovereignty will go to those of non-*Ērānīan* origin, such as the *Hyōn*, the *Turk*, the *Xadur*, the *Tōbīd*, such as the *Hindūg*, the *Kōfyār*, the *Čtūg*, the *Kābulīg*, the *Subdīg*, the *Hrōmāyīg*, the *Karmūr Hyōn* and the *Spēd Hyōn*. They will be rulers over the *Ērānīan* lands which I, <*Ohrmazd*, have created>; their orders and wishes will be current in the world. /59/ Authority will go from those with the leather girdle, from the *Tāzīg*, and from the *Hrōmāyīg* to them.

/60/ They will be such evil rulers that to their eyes killing a righteous and good man or a fly will be the same. /61/ The palaces, the fortunes, the prosperity, the villages, the households, the properties, the estates, the channels, the rivers and the springs of the *Ērānīan* Behdīns will go to those non-*Ērānīans*. And the army, the marches, and the hanners will go to them, and the will of *Xēšm* <and> misrule will be current in the world. /62/ Their greedy eyes will never be satisfied by wealth. They will gather the properties of the world and hide them under the earth. /63/ On account of unrighteousness they will perform many acts of sodomy and sexual acts with menstruated women, and will much practice sinful desires. /64/ In those hard times the night will be brighter. And the year, the month, and the day will diminish by one third. And the earth, *Spandarmad*, will quake. And danger, death, and poverty will be harsher in the world."

/65/ *Ohrmazd* said to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "This is what I foretell, /66/ that evil *Gannāg Mēnōg*, who must be destroyed²⁸, will <then> be more oppressive and of <even> worse rule".

²¹ Cf. NP. *nizm*: "mist, fog, vapour".

²² Cf. ZWY 4.37. The reading was *ān ī drō dādestān*: "the many deceitful laws", though fitting the text, would result awkward for the context.

²³ The sentence is quite contorted in the original text, therefore a certain degree of freedom in the translation is necessary.

²⁴ Translating: *yašt*.

²⁵ Translating: *yazišn*.

²⁶ Translating: *gyāg gyāg kunēnd*.

²⁷ Otherwise, reading: *arzīz* {**surb*} we should consider the second word a gloss: "lead {lead}".

²⁸ Lit.: "destroy", the transitive verb *abesihēnīdan* is used here.

/67/ Thus spoke *Ohrmazd* to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "Study²⁹ and memorize the *zand* and the *pāzand*, teach the redemption, tell <this> to the priests and the disciples and they will tell it forth in the world. Then they must tell to those who will not be aware of the century <that> for the hope of the Final Body <and> for the salvation of one's own soul, they must take upon <themselves and> hear the tribute, the harm, <and> the evil caused by those of different religion and *dēw*-worshippers. /68/ And this also I tell you, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, he who, in that period, will covet the body, will not be able to save the soul, because the body will be fat and the soul thin {weak} in hell. He who will yearn for the soul, <his> body will be thin {weak}, in the material world he will be poor and needy, and his soul will be fat in paradise".

CHAPTER FIVE

/1/ *Zarduxšt* asked *Ohrmazd*, "*Ohrmazd*, bountiful spirit, Creator of the world <of> material beings, holy, {that is, <celebrate> *Ohrmazd* by calling <him> holy and the other <spirits> through praise. There is one who says, holy Creator}, Creator, in those hard times will there be any righteous one and will there be any religious one who will wear the sacred girdle on the waist and will celebrate the religion through the *barsom*? And will the religious <law> of the *xwēdōdah* be current in their families?"

/2/ *Ohrmazd* said to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "The foremost men will be those who, in those hard times, will wear the sacred girdle on the waist and will celebrate the religion through the *barsom* just as during the reign of king *Wištāsp*. /3/ He who, in those hard times, will say *iθā āt yazamaidē* and *ašəm wohū* <and> will have learned them by heart <will gain merit> as if during the rule of king *Wištāsp* <he had celebrated> a *dwāzdah-hōmāst* complete of

²⁹ Translates **xwān*. To obtain this reading one needs to emend the text. It is my opinion that the text here requires a word in the semantical sphere of "read", "recite" or "study". Thus I propose reconstructing the corruption in the following manner: evidently the scribe was writing while someone else was reading out the passage and heard *xwāh* instead of *xwān* writing down *YPLHWN*, the reading preserved, though corrupted, in DH. The use of *xwādan*, *xwān* - with the meaning of "read", "recite" is attested both in Pahlavi (Cf. Williams, 1990, pt. 1, p. 347) and NP. (*xwāndan*). The meaning "study" is attested by NP. *xwāndan*. If this reconstruction is right we would have a further proof of the late date of composition of this text. The alternative hypothesis that, again through dictation, would imply the confusion of *xwāh* (<*xwāstan*) with *xwāh* (<*xwāstan*), though more simple to justify is less convincing from the viewpoint of semantics.

offerings. /4/ And he who will have celebrated the *Yašts* and chanted the *Gāθās* <will be> as you had been reciter of the *Yašts* <and> chanter of the *Gāθās* during the rule of king *Wištāsp*³⁰. /5/ The foremost among the righteous ones will be he who will stand <steadfast> by the good religion of the Mazdeans and who will go by the religious law of *xwēdōdah* in the family".

/6/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, in these nine thousand years that I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, the men of those <final> hard times will be the more distressed. /7/ Because the men who <will have lived> in the <other> difficult periods³¹ <as> under the evil rule of *Azdahāg* and of the *Tūr Frāsyāb*, will have been of better life and of longer life, and the evil <that will have come> to them from *Ahremen* and the *dēws* will have been less. /8/ Because during their evil rule there will not have been so many desolate places and villages in *Ērānšahr* as there will be at the end of your millennium, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*. /9/ Because all the *Ērānian* lands will be razed by the hooves of their horses, <and> their hanners will arrive into *Padišxwārgar*. <By> oppressive rule they will remove throne and religion from there, and their violence will arrive <even> in that place.

10/ O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, this is what I foretell. /11/ He who performs more worship on account of *Ohrmazd* is the best of beings by worship³². *Ohrmazd* is aware of righteousness, however little. {That is, *Ohrmazd*, aware of righteousness, will give reward and retribution for good deeds}. I celebrate the members of the community, <both> males and females. {And the *Amahraspandān*, who are <both> male and females, they are good}.

³⁰ The last sentence could be paraphrased as follows: "He who will have undergone the initiation ceremonies will be <considered> a full-fledged priest as you were during the rule of king *Wištāsp*". Compare the Persian version (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, pp. 91.18-92.2): *ke mardom-e ašāvan ke dar ān *ayām košti bar miān dārand va *drōn bebarsom yazand va yek ašəm vohu bešānand čenān bāšad ke begāh-e vištāsp šāh yašti karde *bāšad va *iθā ād yazamaidē va se ašəm vohu čenān bāšad ke behangām-e goštāsp šāh davāzdah-homāst bezor karde bāšad va yašti beruzgār-e *goštāsp hamādin karde *bāšad va kasi ke *xwedodāš konad va *bedude ravad ašu bāšad*, and the Pāzand version (Antia 1909, pp. 344.25-345.5): *banda mardān pahilamā qī pa qn šakafta ōgām kuštī pa myqn dāreš ašəm vohū awar goit šdūn čūn hašāi guštāspa šāh yašti kunan kās yašti kardā āstāš u gāhā srūt u šdūn čūn ka hašāi guštāspa šāh yašti māhi sūt gāhā ašō bahōt*.

³¹ Translating *ān ī škof āwām*.

³² Lit.: "Who of the beings is so up to best in worship? He who performs more worship on account of *Ohrmazd*". Or, reading with Anklesaria (1957, pp. 43 and 115): *kē az astān ēdōn pad yazišn abar <weh, {kū yazišn ī} ō <y> weh kē ohrmazd rāy yazišn wēš kunēd}* the translation would be "He who, among those who exist, is thus, in worship supremely <good {that is, the worship}> of him is good who performs more worship for *Ohrmazd*". See also Commentary.

CHAPTER SIX

/1/ *Zarduxšt* asked *Ohrmazd*, "Ohrmazd, bountiful spirit, Creator of the world of material beings, holy, whence³³ shall they rearrange this good religion of the Mazdeans? And by what means shall they smite these parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm*? /2/ Creator give me death and give my progeny death that they may not live in those hard times. Give <them> a short life that they may not cultivate unrighteousness and the path of hell".

/3/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, after the black sign sovereignty will go to those of the seed of *Xēšm* <coming> from the *Sarmān* countries, the demons of *Šēdāsp* <ī> *Kilīsāyīg* {that is, *Māhwiṇād* said that they will be *Hrōmāyīg* and *Rōšan* said that they will have red caps, red armour and red banners. That is, when it will be their sign}. /4/ When they will come, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, the sun will be veiled³⁴ and will change colour, on earth there will be haze, darkness and obscurity, in the sky signs of different kinds will be manifest, there will be many earthquakes, the wind will blow stronger, in the world need, distress and misfortune will be more <and more> manifest and *Tīr* and *Ohrmazd* will organize the rule for the worst ones.

/5/ A hundred, a thousand, a myriad will be the demons of *Šēdāsp* <ī> *Kilīsāyīg*, they will have red banners and <in> movement they will pour in great numbers into these *Ērānīan* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, <they will arrive> up to the banks of the *Arang* {that is, there was one who said, "River *Frāt*"}, <they will arrive> as far as the Greeks dwelling in *Asūrestān* {that is, the Greeks who are hard to count, its nature of being the residence of the *Asūrīg* is explained by the fact that *Asūrīg* men dwell in it} and to their residence {that is, there is one who said, "The dwelling of the *dēws*"}. /6/ Thus those of the seed of *Xēšm* will kill one hundred times, one thousand times, one myriad times and will, <then>, turn back. The banners, the flags, and the innumerable army of those parted hair *dēws* will come to these *Ērānīan* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. The army with the broad front, the Turk and *Karmīr* enemies {that is, they will have up banners because they will hold the banners up. That is, <they will come> in great numbers to these *Ērānīan* lands as the <hairs> stand <in> the mane of a horse³⁵}. The Turks with the leather girdle <and> the

Hrōmāyīg of *Šēdāsp* ī *Kilīsāyīg* will come forth together. /7/ And in conflict, in three places, three times will there be great battles, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*. /8/ One during the reign of *Kāūs* on <the occasion of> the meeting of the *dēws* with³⁶ the *Amahraspand*. /9/ And the second one when you, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, will receive the religion and the conversation between you <and me> will take place; and> king *Wištāsp* and *Arjāsp* of the stock of *Xēšm* <will battle>, one against the other³⁷, in the battle of the religion at *Spēd Razūr* {that is, there was one who said, "In *Pārs*"}. /10/ And the third one <will take place> at the end of your millennium, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, when all those three, the Turk, the *Tāzīg* and the *Hrōmāyīg*, <together>, will arrive to this place {that is, there was one who said, "The plain of *Nišānag*"}. All the *Ērānīan* countries which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, will arrive to *Padišxwārgar* from their own dwelling {that is, there was one who <said>, "*Ādur Gušnasp* on the deep lake *Čēčast* of warm waters and anti-demonic". That is, there also the religion was revealed. That is, there was one who said, "<Under the sign of> *Pisces*". *Ādurōy* said, "<Under the sign of> *Cancer*". And there will be such a flow of those of the seed of *Xēšm* into these *Ērānīan* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, that, <then, of> these men of *Padišxwārgar* and *Pārs*, and <those> dwelling in the burrows, dwelling in the mountains, and dwelling by the sea, few will remain. /11/ Because when a husband will be able to save himself then he will not remember <his> wife, children and property".

/12/ And then *Zarduxšt* said, "Creator, give me death and give my progeny death <so> that we shall not live in those hard times".

/13/ <*Ohrmazd* said, "Do not have fear, *Spitāmān*> *Zarduxšt*, because the day when the <tenth> century <of> your millennium will be over, not even one of the sinful will pass from this millennium to that millennium".

CHAPTER SEVEN

/1/ *Zarduxšt* asked *Ohrmazd*, "Ohrmazd, bountiful spirit, Creator of the world <of> material beings, holy, by what means will it be possible to destroy them if they are in such a great number?"

³³ Translating *az kū*.

³⁴ Translating *xwaršēd nizm nišān nimāyēd*.

³⁵ Lit.: "They stand like the mane of a horse". Possibly this metaphor describes a host of dark soldiers in the bright desert.

³⁶ For the connotation of *abāg* and *abāgīh* in this context cf. the current use of NP. *bā* in the sense of "against" in contexts of confrontation.

³⁷ Translating: *ham-kōxšīšnīh*.

/2/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, when the parted hair *dēws* of the seed of *Xēšm* will appear on the side of *Xwarāsān* first of all a black sign will be revealed. *Ušēdar* son of *Zarduxšt* will be born on lake *Frazdān* {that is, <there was one> who said, "On lake *Kayānsē*". That is, there was one who said, "In *Kāwulistān*"}. /3/ O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, at the age of thirty he will come to converse with me, *Ohrmazd* {that is, there was one who> said "On the side of *Čīnestān*". That is, there was one who said, "In *Hindūgān*"}. /4/ A *kay* will be born {that is, the father of that *kay* will be of *Kayān* stock}, <and> will go <to> *Hindūgān* to help *Ušēdar*. /5/ At the age of one hundred years he will have desire for women and therefore a pious *kay* will be born to him, he will be called by the name *Wahrām* the powerful {that is, there is one who said, "*Šābuhr*"}. /6/ <In the religion it is revealed> that the night when that *kay* will be born a sign will reach the world, a star will fall from the sky. When that *kay* will be born a star will reveal the sign, {that is, *Dādohrmazd* said, "Month *Ābān* and day *Wād*"}. The father of that *kay* will <eventually> die <and> they will foster <him>³⁸ among the maids of the *šāh*. A woman will be sovereign.

/7/ When that *kay* will be thirty years old {that is, there was one who said the time}, an army of *Hindūg* and *Čīnūg* with numberless flags, will have up-held banners {because they will hold the banners up}, will have raised banners and raised arms. In a <ceaseless> flow they will rush forth³⁹ up to the river *Weh* {<that is>, there was one who said, "A country in one land"}, as far as *Balx* and *Balxān*⁴⁰, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*. /8/ When the star⁴¹ Jupiter will reach its exaltation⁴² and it will throw Venus⁴³ down, the lordship will reach the *kay*, there will be many numerous⁴⁴ troops well armed <and> with adorned banners. /9/ {That is, there is one who <said>, "From *Sēstān*, *Pārs* and *Xwarāsān*". That is, there is one who said, "From the lake of *Padišxwārgar*". That is, there is one

³⁸ Thus to render the original which is active and impersonal; "him" refers to *Wahrām ī Warzāwand*.

³⁹ Translating *pad tāzišn ul tāzēnd*. With verbs of movement the preverb *ul* acquires the meaning "forth". See also ZWY 4.6 and 7.22.

⁴⁰ Not deleting *bār* the translation would read, "to inside the bank of the *Balx* and *Balxān* <river>".

⁴¹ The use of the term *abāxtar*: "planet" would, also from the standpoint of Iranian astrology, be more precise. However, similar usages are widespread in Iranian astrology and may derive from ancient Greek conventions.

⁴² See MacKenzie (1964, p. 516).

⁴³ Note the NP. use of *rāy*.

⁴⁴ Lit.: "countless". Alternatively, assuming that *KBD* /was/ is a mistake for *APš* /u-š/, one should translate: "and he will have countless troops".

who said, "From the mountain district of *Harēw*". That is, there is one who said, "From *Tabarestān*"}. /10/ And from that side an innocent child will appear {that is <the reason for> the adorned banners, and for the numerous army of *Padišxwārgar*, <made up> of armed men, troops and armies from *Ērānsahr*. <That is>, there was one who said, "They called also Kurds and Kirmānīs". It is not clear}. /11/ <In the religion it is revealed> that through cooperation <and> under a common banner those of the seed of *Xēšm* of **Šēdāsp*, the army with the broad front, the two-legged wolf creatures and the *dēws* with the leather girdle <will arrive> in these *Ērānian* lands and will kill in great numbers. /12/ On the banks of the *Arang* they will fight three battles, <one in...>, one in *Spēd Razūr*, and one in the plain of *Nišānag*. /13/ {That is, there was one who said, "On the lake of the three seeds". And there was one who said, "In *Marw* of the bright ones". That is, there was one who said, "In *Pārs*"}.⁴⁵ /14/ The innumerable *Xwarāsānian* army will raise the flags in support of the *Ērānian* countries {<that is>, they will have banners of tiger skin. Their wind-banners will be <of> white cotton}. /15/ And innumerable armies will hasten up to the dwelling of the *dēws*. They will kill so much that, thereafter, one thousand women will see a man and desire <him>.

/16/ At the end of time, *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, those enemies will be destroyed just as <befalls> the trunk of a tree when, one night, the cold winter arrives and in this night it sheds the leaves. /17/ They will rearrange these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. /18/ In haste will *Gannūg Mēnōg* move, together with the *dēws*, those of least stock and *Xēšm* of the bloody club. He will arrive in support and help of those *dēw*-worshippers and of those of the seed of *Xēšm*, o *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*. /19/ And I, the Creator *Ohrmazd*, will send the *yazad Nēryōsang* and the righteous *Srōš* to *Kangdiz* built by the glorious *Syāwaxš*, <to say> to *Čīhrōmēhan* son of *Wištāsp*, <of> *Kayanid xwarrah*, true restorer of the religion, this, "Go forth, glorious *Pišōtan*, to these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, and celebrate the *Hādōxt* and the *Dwāzdah-hōmāst* <for> fire <and> waters" {that is, celebrate for fire <and> waters, that which is prescribed for fire <and> waters}.

/20/ And the *yazad Nēryōsang* and the righteous *Srōš* will go from the good *Čagād ī Dāytī* to *Kangdiz* built by the glorious *Syāwaxš* <and> from there they

⁴⁵ This comment probably refers to the geographical identification of the plain of *Nišānag*, however, we cannot exclude that it refers to the site where the unmentioned battle was fought.

will cry, "Go forth, glorious *Pišōtan*, *Čīhrōmēhan* son of *Wištāsp*, <of> Kayanid *xwarrah*, true restorer of the religion, go forth to these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd* have created"⁴⁶. Restore the status of religion and of sovereignty". /21/ Those spirits will go forth⁴⁷ and celebrate a *Dwāzdah-hōmāst* with offerings.

/22/ And the glorious *Pišōtan* will go forth with one hundred and fifty righteous men who are disciples of *Pišōtan* with black sabres and garments, they will have good in the spirit. They will go forth⁴⁸ on good thoughts, good words and good deeds and will celebrate the *Hādōxt* and *Bayān Yasnas* <for> fire and waters. They will praise me, *Ohrmazd*, together with the *Amahraspands*. /23/ Thereafter he will break one third of the adversaries.

/24/ Forth will go the glorious *Pišōtan* with one hundred and fifty men who wear black sabres to the glorious fire, seated in the Fire Temple, which they call *Rōšn Kirb* which is the seed of the victorious *Ādur Farrbay*. They will perform for it, in co-celebration⁴⁹, the worship, they will spread forth the *Barsom* and celebrate the *Hordād* and *Amurdād Yasnas* complete of religious ritual directions and *Nērangestān*. /25/ And he will break one third of the adversaries.

/26/ Forth will go *Pišōtan* son of *Wištāsp*, in cooperation with *Ādur Farrbay* and *Ādur Gušnasp* and *Ādur Burzēnmīhr*, to the great idol-temple, abode of the evil *Gannāg Mēnōg*. *Xēšm* with the bloody cluh, all the *dēws* and demons, those of evil stock and the sorcerers will reach the deepest hell. They will destroy that idol-temple struggling together with the glorious *Pišōtan*.

/27/ And I, the Creator *Ohrmazd*, together with the *Amahraspands*, will come to mount *Hukairyā* and will order to the *Amahraspands* to tell all the *yazads* and the spirits, "Go and help the glorious *Pišōtan*". /28/ And *Mīhr* of the wide pastures, the swift *Srōš*, the true *Rašn*, the forceful *Wahrām*, the victorious *Aštād*, <and> the *xwarrah* of the Mazdean religion, organizing power which is the arranger of the world, at my, the Creator's, command /29/⁵⁰ will arrive in support to help the glorious *Pišōtan*. /30/ They will smite the *dēws* and

those of obscure stock.

/31/ The evil *Gannāg Mēnōg* will cry to *Mīhr* of the wide pastures, "Stand up for truth, you, *Mīhr* of the wide pastures".

/32/ And then *Mīhr* of the wide pastures will cry out, "<As regards> this nine thousand year agreement that he has made <it is clear that> up to now *Dahāg* of the evil religion, the *Tūr Frāsyāb*, Alexander the *Hrōmāyīg* and those parted hair *dēws* with the leather girdle, have held sovereignty for a period of one thousand years more than <those established in> the treaty".

/33/ And the evil *Gannāg Mēnōg* will be stunned upon hearing so. /34/ *Mīhr* of the wide pastures will strike <and> *Xēšm* of the bloody club will be defeated. /35/ That evil *Gannāg Mēnōg* together with the abortions and those of evil stock will crawl back to the darkness and obscurity of hell.

/36/ And *Mīhr* of the wide pastures will cry to the glorious *Pišōtan*, "Raze, smite that idol-temple, abode of the *dēws*. Go to these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created <and> restore the status <of> religion and sovereignty. About evil ones <I tell you>, "When you see <one> break <him>".

/37/ And the glorious *Pišōtan*, the victorious *Ādur Farrbay*, *Ādur Gušnasp*, and *Ādur Burzēnmīhr* will arrive and smite those powerful demons, they will raze that idol-temple which is the abode of the *dēws*. And they will perform the <proper> worship and spread forth the *Barsom*. They will celebrate the *Dwāzdah-hōmāst*, <and> praise me, *Ohrmazd*, together with the *Amahraspands*.

/38/ This is what I foretell. /39/ The glorious *Pišōtan* will arrive to these *Ērānian* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created, to the rivers *Arang* and *Weh*. When he will see the evil ones he will break⁵¹ those unworthy ones of obscure stock".

CHAPTER EIGHT

/1/. About the powerful *Wahrām* it is revealed that he will arrive in fullness of *xwarrah* and will appoint *Wistaxm* to the dignity of *mowbedān mowbed* and, having entrusted <him> the authentic and true rôle of the religion, he will

⁵¹ It seems that here the 2nd person singular forms of par. 36 are unwittingly repeated. Though both could be read as 3rd plural, on account of the context I have preferred to emend to **wēnēd* and **ikennēd* respectively. The word-order is peculiar, however to translate: "when the evil ones see him they will kill him", corresponding to a reading: *ka druwandān ōy wēnēd be ikennēd*, would scarcely fit the context.

⁴⁶ This set formula is here repeated without regard for who the subject actually is.

⁴⁷ The preverb used here is *abar*: "up, on". However, it seems that it can be interpreted as "forth".

⁴⁸ Translating *ul rawēnd*. See ZWY 4.6 and 7.7.

⁴⁹ The word *zōtīh*, a learned word which has not followed the natural evolution of surd to sonant consonants in postvocalic position, expresses the office of the *zōt*, the first-officiating priest, thus for *ham-zōtīh* I have chosen the translation "co-celebration", though conscious of the Catholic ring it has, for the sake of clarity.

⁵⁰ Here Anklesaria's division in paragraphs falters.

of *xwarrah* and will appoint *Wistaxm* to the dignity of *mowbedān* *mowbed* and, having entrusted <him> the authentic and true rôle of the religion, he will rearrange these *Ērānīan* lands which I, *Ohrmazd*, have created. /2/ And greed, need, hate, wrath, lust, envy, and unrighteousness will disappear from the world. /3/ The era of the wolf will pass away and the era of the sheep will arrive. /4/ And they will seat the *Ādur Farrbay*, the *Ādur Gušnasp* and the *Ādur Burzēnmīhr* back in their own places and duly feed them firewood and incense. /5/ And the evil *Gannāg Mēnōg*, together with the *dēws* and those of obscure stock, will be stunned and unconscious.

/6/ Thus will the glorious *Pišōtan* speak, "May the *dēws* be smitten, the *parīg* smitten, may the demonry of the *dēws* and wickedness be smitten, and may those of obscure stock <and> the *dēws* be smitten". May the supreme Lord, the wise *Ohrmazd*, together with the *Amahraspand*, good lords of the good countryman, and the *xwarrah* of the Mazdean religion prosper. And may the families of the liberal ones and of the true ones, practisers of good actions, prosper. May the liberal ones and the true ones be good restorers <of> the rôle of religion and sovereignty.

/7/ Forth will come the glorious *Pišōtan*, forth will he come together with one hundred and fifty men who are <his> disciples, who have black sahles and will take the throne for their own religion and sovereignty.

/8/ Said *Ohrmazd* to *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, "This is what I foretell <will happen> when it will be the end of the millennium of *Zarduxšt* and the beginning of that of *Ušēdar*".

CHAPTER NINE

/1/ About *Ušēdar* it is revealed that he will be born in the year one thousand and six hundred and, at the age of thirty, will come to converse with me, *Ohrmazd*, and receive the religion. /2/ Upon leaving the conversation he will cry to *Xwaršēd* <of> swift horses, "Stand!". /3/ *Xwaršēd* of swift horses will stand for ten days and nights. /4/ And when this will happen all the men of the world will stand by the good Mazdean religion.

/5/ *Mīhr* of wide pastures will cry to *Ušēdar* son of *Zarduxšt*, "*Ušēdar*, true restorer of the religion, cry out to *Xwaršēd* of swift horses <the following>, Go! Because it is dark on the continents of *Arzah*, *Wōrūbaršt*, *Wōrūjaršt* and in one half of splendid *Xwanīrah*".

/6/ And *Ušēdar* son of *Zarduxšt* will cry out to *Xwaršēd* <of> swift horses, "Go!". /7/ The powerful *Xwaršēd* <of> swift horses will go. And all men will believe in the good Mazdean religion.

/8/ *Ohrmazd* said, "O *Spitāmān Zarduxšt*, this is what I foretell, he will lead this creation back to its proper existence. /9/ And when the end of the millennium will be near *Pišōtan* son of *Wištāsp* will appear <and> the victorious *xwarrah* of the Kayanids will reach him. /10/ And those enemies on whom demonry is set, such as the *Turk*, the *Tāzīg*, the *Hrōmāyīg* and the worst <of> *Ērānīan* men will go <forth> with havery, oppression, and enmity towards the lord, and will strike the fire, weaken the religion and take power <and> victory from it. And <about> that law and religion, they will smite continually whoever will accept it willingly <or>, otherwise, will accept it unwillingly – that law and religion⁵² – until it will be the end of the millennium.

/11/ And then, when the millennium of *Ušēdarmāh* will arrive, through *Ušēdarmāh* the creation will be more active <and> more powerful. And he will smite the demons of the seed of *Āz*. And *Pišōtan* son of *Wištāsp* will be likewise *Dastur* and *Rad* of the world. /12/ And in the millennium of *Ušēdarmāh* the men will be so skilled in medicine, so skilfully will they use drugs and medicines that then they will not die except at the prescribed time, <if not> when wounded and killed by sword or knife.

/13/ Then a heretic will ask <all> this as part of the habitual reward⁵³, <hut> because of <his> wickedness and heresy they will not give it <to him>. /14/ And the heretic, in revenge, will rise to mount *Dumbāwand* and will say <to> *Bēwarāsp*, "Now it is <already> nine thousand years <that> *Frēdōn* is not alive, why do you not loosen⁵⁴ these bonds and stand up, since this world is full of men who have been led up from the enclosure made by *Ĵam*?". /15/ Then the heretic will speak in this manner <for some time> because *Azdahāg*, on account of the fear of the <spectral> form of *Frēdōn*, <that> will be standing on the body of *Frēdōn* in front <of him, *Azdahāg*>, at first will not free

⁵² This sentence is not crystal clear; *dād ud den* is repeated for the sake of clarity. The use of *ān* is noteworthy and suggests that the religion meant is Islam, however, if this is the case the subject should be different from that of the preceding sentence. We should then consider the whole sentence as an interpolation, a warning against conversion to Islam.

⁵³ What is meant by *das⁵r ī ēwēnagīh* is not clear, possibly it is a reference to the fate of mankind at the end of time. For the use of *'dwy*n as "coutumier, habituel" refer to Gignoux (1972, p. 15).

⁵⁴ Here we have a peculiar example of the confusion about the verbal system. In the MSS a 3rd sg. pres. verb expresses a 2nd sg. pronoun.

from the base, he will be <free> to move and will devour the heretic on the spot. <Thereafter> he will go in the world to commit sins. He will commit innumerable grievous sins, he will devour one third of the men, of the large cattle, of the small cattle, and of the other creatures of *Ohrmazd*. He will strike water, fire and vegetation, and commit grievous sins.

/17/ And then water, fire and vegetation will stand in front of the Lord *Ohrmazd* in complaint. /18/ They will make this complaint, "Bring *Frēdōn* back to life so that he may kill *Azdahāg*, because if you, *Ohrmazd*, do not do this we will not be able to exist in the material world". /19/ The fire will say, "I will not burn" and the water will say, "I will not flow".

/20/ And then I, the Creator *Ohrmazd*, will say to *Srōš* and to the *yazad Nēryōsang*, "Move the body of *Sāmān Keresāsp* so that he will rise up". /21/ And then *Srōš* and the *yazad Nēryōsang* will go to *Keresāsp* and cry out three times. /22/ And <upon> the fourth time the *Sāmān* will rise with victory and will rush against *Azdahāg* and will hear no word from him, he will aim the victorious club at <bis> head, strike and kill. /23/ Afterwards desolation and misfortune will disappear from this world so that I may accomplish the beginning of the millennium.

/24/ And then *Sōšāns* will render the creation pure again, and the Resurrection of the Dead and the Final Body will take place.

/col./ Completed in peace, happiness and ease. May it be <as is> in the will of the *yazads*, may it be so, may it be even more so.

COMMENTARY

DOXOLOGY

abzōnīg: In the Pahlavi commentaries of Avestan texts this word usually renders Av. *spānta-* (Dhahhar 1949, p. 13). The meanings "increasing" and "bountiful" are attested (MacKenzie 1971, p. 4). In this text it will be translated as "bountiful" as opposed to *abzāyēnīdār*: "(all)-increasing", but one must consider that this term, being the usual rendering of Av. *spānta-*, acquired a broader semantic range within Zoroastrian religious terminology.

xwarrahōmand: In the present text this term will be translated: "glorious". No entirely satisfying translation exists for *xwarrah* (NP. *xorre*). This term is preserved solely through the religious tradition as opposed to the regular western Iranian development that gave NP. *farr*. Being unable to synthesize its whole semantic range, we have tried to underline its importance as a primary element of royalty and divinity by the translation "glory". However one must not underestimate its connection with the concept of "light/splendour" (Cf. Bartholomae 1904, cols. 1870–73; see also *Dk* 7.2.1–5; Molé 1967, pp. 14–15; *DkM* 600.21–601.20), which would lead to the translation "nimbus" were it not for the marked Christian significance that this term would evoke. That the detailed analysis of Bailey (1943, pp. 1–77), though rich in material, is not convincing has been shown, among others, by Duchesne-Guillemin (1963), whose arguments were complemented by Gnoli (1963).

**nibēsīhēd*: MS *nibēsīhēm*. In the Pahlavi texts this introductory formula takes different forms. The reading given here is what I consider the correct version. Among the many parallels compare the following: TD28, 57.9–12 (*Šāyist nē Šāyist*): *pad nām ī yazadān jahišn ī nēk bawād ān ī weh. tan-drustīh ud dagr-zīwišnīh ud *ābād-xīrīh har wehān ud frārōn-kunišnān. nāmēšt ōy kē rāy *nibēsīhēm*. This reading would give the following, improbable, translation: "(...) Fame <to> him for whom I am written". By emending the verb to **nibēsēm* the following translation would be required: "(...) Fame <to> him for whom I write". By emending **nibēsīhēm* to **nibēsīhēd* we obtain the following

translation: "In the name of God, may the fortune of the good one be good. Health, long life and prosperity to all the good ones and to the honest-acting ones. Fame <to> him for whom <this book> is written". This last interpretation is strengthened by the similar passage found in TD 1r.1-4 (*Hērbedestān ud Nērangestān*): *pad nām ī dādār ohrmazd ī xwābar ī kirbakkār <dādār> ī mēnōgān ud gētīgān. tan-drustīh ud pērōzgarīh ud husrawīh <ud> nēkīh ān rāy kē *nūbēstīst*: "In the name of the Creator Ohrmazd, beneficent, doer of good deeds, <creator> of the spiritual and of the material <beings>. Health, victory, fame and goodness to him for whom <this book> was written".

CHAPTER ONE

Quite similar in content to this chapter is the following exposition found in the ninth book of the *Dēnkard* (*DkM* 792.4-16; *B* Missing Folios 146.7-147.7; West 1892, pp. 180-81): *haftom fargard *tāweratu. abar nīmāyīšn ī ō zarduxšt ēwēnag ī čahār āwām ī andar zarduxštān hazangrōzem* (*YAv. hazanrō zyam-*). *fradom zarrēn, ān kē padīš ohrmazd ō zarduxšt dēn nīmūd. dudīgar sēmēn, ān kē padīš wištāsp az zarduxšt dēn padirift. sidīgar pōlāwadēn, ān āwām kē ahlāyīh-ārāstār ādurbād ī mahraspandān andar [zād] zād. čahārom āhan-abar-gumēxt, āwām ēn kē andar *frāy zāyīšnīh ī pādixšāyīh ī ahlomōy ud abārig wattarān. abar wišōbišn ī dēn ud xwadāyīh ud nūzārīh ī har gōnag wehīh <ud> nēkīh <ud> frōd *waštan ī xēm <ud> xrad az ērān dehān andar im āwām. ōšmurišn ī was škaftīh <ud> *zamestān ī āwām. [ō ān] *grāyīšn ī wehān <ō> zīndagīh ī andar *abāyīšnīg bawēd. pahlom ahlāyīh āzādīh ast.* "The seventh fargard is **Tāweratu*. It is about the disclosure to *Zarduxšt* of the peculiarities of the four epochs which are in the millennium of *Zarduxšt*. The first is that of gold, in which *Ohrmazd* reveals the religion to *Zarduxšt*. The second is that of silver, in which *Wištāsp* receives the religion from *Zarduxšt*. The third is that of steel, the epoch in which *Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān*, the restorer of righteousness, was born. The fourth <is that> on which iron was mixed, an epoch in which the dominion of the heretics and of other evil ones proliferated. About the destruction of religion and of royalty, and <about> the enfeeblement of every kind of goodness and virtue and the worsening of character and wisdom in the *Ērān* countries in this period. <On> the reckoning of many hardships and <on> the winter of ages. <In those times> the desire of the good ones will be a fitting life. The foremost righteousness is

gratitude". The comparison of this passage with the one in *ZWY* shows the difference between the purely religious tradition and that which results from the blending together of both the religious and the royal traditions; it thus provides a valid clue for the dating of our text. According to Boyce this passage shows that the first chapter is taken from the commentary of the lost *Sūdgar nask*, which is itself a commentary to *Yasna* 31. See Boyce (1991, pp. 383-84). According to this author the four ages design was developed by the Persians and adopted as far back as the early third century BCE (Boyce 1991, pp. 374-76). See further Boyce (1984b, pp. 70-72, 1989b, pp. 64-65 and 1991, pp. 384-87 and 402 n. 190). Bickerman (1968, p. 68) believes, on the contrary, that the Iranian account was taken from the one found in the Book of Daniel. Gignoux correctly remarks that quadripartition is found in most cultures of the ancient world (Gignoux 1987, p. 356). See also Gignoux (1986a, pp. 339 and 342-43; 1987, pp. 354-57; 1988a pp. 73-74). Interesting but incorrect as regards the third period is Widengren's analysis of the four epochs (1983, pp. 152-53). Moreover, in my opinion, the four epoch design cannot be limited to Zurvanism. For the derivation of *ZWY* from Daniel II see Duchesne-Guillemin (1982).

par. 1

Stūdgar: Probably a corruption of *Sūdgar*. According to the *Dēnkard* it was the first *nask* of the Avesta while according to the apocryphal *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* and to the *Rivāyats*, where it is called *Stūdgar* or *Istūdgar*, it was the second *nask*. In the *Dēnkard* we find a short description of it in book eight and a long and detailed summary in book nine (West 1892, p. 10, n. 6; *DkM* 680.8-16 and 787.6-818.20). On *sūdgar* see Andreas-Barr (1933, p. 54, *sub voce* *swtyklyhy*).

par. 3

āhan abar gumēxt: Gignoux (1986b, pp. 57-58) suggests the following emendation: *āhan xāk abar gumēxt estād*. According to this author '*sn' QDM gwmymht*' should be compared to the reading "'*sn' plngmyht*" found in the ninth book of the *Dēnkard* (*DkM* 792.10) where *-ng-*, according to him, should be considered as a scribal error for *-gw-*. There is no need for this emendation because in Dresden's edition of the *Dēnkard*, among the facsimiles of the missing passages, we find the correct '*sn' plgwmymht*' (*B* 146.14), referring to the fourth and last epoch. Gignoux then reconstructs an original '*sn' APLA 'pl gwmymht* and purports that through the error of a scribe, misled by the resemblance of the two

graphemes, *APLA* was lost, leaving 'sn' 'pl' *gwmyht*. If we then substitute the ideogram *QDM* for the phonetic 'pl' we have the sequence found in the MSS. A similar expression is found in *Dk* 7.8.11 (Molé 1967, pp. 82-83, *DkM* 659.10, *B* 320.1) where we read 'syn' *QDM gwmyht' AYK MN hm'k kwstk' nkylynd 'syn[yn]*'. Here the gloss: "that they will behold iron on every side" probably refers to a time of war and disorder. Boyce at first (1984h, pp. 71-72) suggested identifying *āhan abar gumēxt* with "iron ore" or "ironstone". Later, accepting in principle Gignoux's interpretation, she proposed the reading *āhan ī xāk gumēxt* suggesting the corruption of *APLA* into 'pl' (Boyce 1989h, p. 73, n. 58 and 1991, p. 386). However, we must remark that *xāk* (*APLA*) does not have the meaning of "clay" (*gil*), as in the parallel passage in Daniel, but rather that of "earth, dust". If the parallelism with the passage in Daniel is to be maintained, it is probably better, as suggested by Prof. MacKenzie, to emend to 'sn' <Y gl> 'pl' *gwmyht*: *āhan <gil> abar gumēxt*, i.e. to regard the *abar* as 'teleposition' to *āhan ī*, and not as adverb to *gumēxt*. Finally, an interesting parallel for the use of the verb *gumēxtan*, *gumēz-* is found in *AĴ* 16.6 (Messina 1939, p. 67) where we read *anērān andar ērān gumēzihēnd*, the passive form of this verb being employed to signify an invasion of non-Iranians.

Boyce, moreover, proposes identifying the "iron" age with the period which follows Alexander's victorious march towards India and believes that this passage, which, according to her, is of Greek inspiration, was later to be the basis of the well known description of the four-metal statue which is found in the Book of Daniel, II, 32-33. However, the presence of the same concept in the *Dēnkard* would rather suggest that the theme of a final, evil age was common to Zoroastrian eschatological thought, leaving open the question of a possible foreign origin.

par. 6

<ān gētīg>: For the insertion of *ān gētīg ī man ohrmazd dād*, correctly proposed by Anklesaria, compare ch. 3. par. 21.

par. 7

čahār āwām: See ch. 3, par. 22.

par. 8

<dēwān az āškāragih>: Correctly added by Anklesaria, compare ch. 3, par. 23.

par. 9

For a more detailed discussion of the various epochs and of the different sovereigns mentioned compare ch. 3, par. 22.

ardaxšīr ī kay-šāh: The epithet *kay-šāh* is a clear reference to the late identification of the mythical Kayanids with the Achaemenians, see Hertel (1924) who believed it historically sound and, *contra*, Christensen (1931b) who definitively demonstrated its historical falseness. More recently see Yarshater (1983a) who concurs with the latter's opinion.

On the genealogy of this sovereign compare the following passage, taken from the *Bundahišn*: (*Bd* 35.35-36; *TD1* 99r.16-99v.4; *DH* 227v.6-11; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 296-99): *az kay lōhrāsp wištāsp ud zarēr <ud> abārīg brādarān zād hēnd. az wištāsp [az] spandyād ud pišōtan zād hēnd. ud az spandyād wahman ud *ādur-tarēš ud *mīhr-tarēš <ud> abārīg zād hēnd. ardaxšīr ī pābagān kē-š mād duxt ī sāsān ī *weh-āfrīd [ud]*ī zarēr ī sāsān ī ardaxšīr kē wahman <ī> spandyādān guft*: "From Kay Lōhrāsp Wištāsp, Zarēr and other brothers were born. From Wištāsp Spandyād and Pišōtan were born. From Spandyād Wahman, *Ādur-Tarēš and *Mīhr-Tarēš and others were born. Ardaxšīr son of Pābag whose mother was the daughter of Sāsān son of *Weh-āfrīd son of Zarēr son of Sāsān son of Ardaxšīr who was called Wahman son of Spandyād".

King *Ardaxšīr*, identified with *Wahman ī Spandyādān*, nephew of *Pišōtan*, is the link between epic tradition and genuine history. As we have seen, according to the *Bundahišn* he was the ancestor of *Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* and according to another passage in the same text (see ch. three, par. 22) he is to be identified with *Čīhrāzād* father of *Dārāy ī Čīhrāzādān*, identified as a woman by some Persian and Arabic sources. This detail would point to his identification with Artaxerxes I, father of Darius II (See also Nöldeke 1879, p. 3, n. 1 and Christensen 1931h, p. 98; *contra* Boyce 1991, p. 385 who prefers the identification with Artaxerxes II). On *Ardaxšīr bin Dārā*, found in the *Ātār al-Bāqīa* of Al-Biruni, see Justi (1895, p. 34). For the history of the late Kayanids and for the foreign influences on the depiction of *Ardaxšīr* see Yarshater (1983a, pp. 470-73). On *Wahman ī Spandyādān* see also Yarshater (1983a pp. 377ff., 386 *et passim*).

par. 10

anōšag-ruwān husraw ī kawādān: Clearly to be identified with *Husraw I*

Anōšerwān (531–579 CE).

par. 11

dēwān ī wizārd-wars ī xēšm tōhmag: A definition often used in the Pahlavi texts to designate demoniacal enemies. Boyce (1989b, pp. 73f.) believes that, at least in the original version, they should be identified with the Macedonians. On the contrary both internal evidence in *ZWY* and the more common use in Pahlavi literature suggest a Central Asian origin. As a matter of fact, in our text this epithet primarily refers to the Turks. See Cereti (forthcoming). According to Kippenberg (1978, p. 60): "Die Söhne Aēšmas (...) sind mit den verschiedenen Völkern bunnischer und türkischer Abstammung identifiziert worden, die seit der Mitte des 4. Jh. von Norden her in Khorasan eingedrungen waren (vor allem die Chioniten und Hephtaliten)". See also Jackson (1928, pp. 89–91). Still today some Afghan and Central Asian peoples have a typical hair cut with the hair parted in the middle and this could well explain the denotation *wizārd-wars*.

CHAPTER TWO

par. 1

The episode narrated in the second chapter seems alien to the general context. Particularly remarkable is the use of the past tense.

The following passage from the Persian version of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* seems to provide a more satisfactory version of the facts related in chapter two: (Unvālā 1922, pp. 86.16–87.2; cf. Dhabhar 1932, p. 458): *digar bāre dar zand-e bahman yašt va xurdād yašt peydāst ke dar hangām-e anušervān xosru-e qobād gijiste bad-gowhar mazdak padidār āyad va besyār āin bad hend. va xosru-e anuše ruvān *dastur-e xiš: *māvindād <va> šāpur va ādarohrmazd dīn *dastur-e ādarbādagān va kādarfazāindārbād* (possibly the incomprehensible outcome of the two names *ādur farrbay* and *ādurbād* having fallen together) *va āzarmehr <va> *baxtāfrīd be xānd. va bā gijiste mazdak peygām konad ke agar išan rā javāb bekonad, haq bāši. va gar ne, bekoštan arzāni [konad] bāšad. če peymān konad va az gijiste mazdak dah soxan-e dīni *beporsid va yeki rā javāb kardan nadānad. pas xosru-e anuše ruvān u rā bezudī nist konad va jahān az petyāre-ye *bande pāk konad*: "Again in the *zand* of the *Bahman Yašt* and of the *Xurdād Yašt* it is manifest that in the time of *Xosru Anušervān*

son of *Qobād* the accursed *Mazdak* of evil nature will appear and many customs will be evil. *Xosru* of immortal soul will summon his *Dasturs*: **Māvindād*, *šāpur*, *ādarohrmazd*, *Dastur* of the religion of *ādarbādagān*, **ādur* **farrbay*, **ādurbād*, *āzarmehr*, <and> *Baxtāfrīd*. He <then> will send a message to the accursed *Mazdak* to the effect that if he will answer them, all is well. If not, he will be put to death. Once the agreement is made one will ask the accursed *Mazdak* ten religious questions and he will not know how to answer one. Then *Xosru* of immortal soul will quickly annihilate him and rid the world of the assault of the slaves".

mazdak ī bāmdādān: On *Mazdak* see Yarshater 1983b. Interesting but not convincing is the hypothesis put forward by Gaube (1982) questioning the overall value of the historical sources for Mazdakism. Still valid are the classical works of Christensen (1925) and Klíma (1957) which must now be integrated with Klíma (1977). On the form *Mazdāk*, found in two MSS and in other sources see Klíma (1957, pp. 165 and 173, and 1977 pp. 87–88 and 92–93); in the latter book a wrong interpretation of the forms found in DH is given.

par. 2

husraw ī <kawādān>: On this sovereign see ch. 1, par. 10. On the lack of interest of the young *Husraw* for the Mazdakite heresy, a theme found more than once in the sources, see, in general, the above mentioned bibliography on *Mazdak*. Cf. Anklesaria (1957, p. 5).

For the names of these magi in the epigraphical documents see Gignoux (1986c), for these names in the Pahlavi writings see de Menasce (1983, pp. 1171–72) and Gignoux (1986b, p. 55). Refer also to Justi (1895). All these names, except for *Baxtāfrīd*, are found on seals as names of magi. Several of these names are known as commentators in the Pahlavi texts. A *Dādohrmazd* is again quoted further on in our text and is found also in the Pahlavi *Yasna* (West 1880, p. 194 n. 1); *ādur Farrbay Narsēh* is mentioned in the *Šāyist nē Šāyist* 1.3b (Tavadia 1930, p. 28); According to West (1880, p. 194 n. 1 and p. 395 n. 3) *ādurbād* is a common name of Pahlavi commentators, *ādurbād ī ādurmihr* is mentioned by de Menasce (1983, p. 1171). Another *ādurbād*, *ādurbād ī Dādfarrox*, is found in the *Nērangestān*. *Baxtāfrīd* is mentioned in the supplementary texts to the *Šāyist nē Šāyist* ch. 20.11, see Kotwal (1969, p. 85). According to West this commentator is mentioned also in the *Nērangestān*, but

this is not confirmed by Waag (1941). The name of the commentator *Baxtāfrīd* is found, among other places, in *DkM* 113.11. More problematic is the name which has been read **Māhdād*. K20 reads *m'hd't'n*, DH *m'h'd't'n* and K43 *m'hd't'n*. *Māhdād*, though a plausible name, is, to my knowledge, not otherwise known as name of a commentator. On the other hand, the Persian MS *Bk* (for which see Modi 1922b, pp. 51–53) reads *Māvindād*, and the name *Māhwindād* appears in a later part of our text (cbap. 6. par. 3). *Māhwindād* is mentioned among commentators by de Menasce (1983, p. 1171), and is found in Kapadia's glossary of the *Vendidad* (Kapadia 1953, p. 418, no context given). Though further emending *Māhdād* into *Māhwindād* would be tempting, we have chosen to preserve the reading suggested by the MSS.

par. 3

paywand: A reference to the hereditary character of the priestly function in Zoroastrianism. The religious use of *paywand*, with the meaning of "tradition" and "continuity in the religious tradition" has been studied in detail by Bailey (1943, pp. 149–76). Widengren (1983, p. 97 and n. 99) proposes the translation "Traditionkreis".

par. 4

husraw: See cb. 1, par. 10.

CHAPTER THREE

par. 2

The four mythological characters mentioned in this paragraph are all immortal *rads*. For a recapitulation of these immortal sovereigns as represented in the various Pahlavi texts see Christensen (1931b, pp. 153–56).

Among other passages compare the following: *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, Question 89 (K35 196v.17–197r.5; cf. Anklesaria 1970) *xwadāy ī ahōš-xwarrah* <ī> *kišwar ī xwanirah haft guft ēstēd: ēk jōšt ī friyān *nām; ēk, abestāgīg, <ašam ī> *yaxmay-ūšat nām, ham friyān pus; ēk *frašāxsti nām, *xumbīgān pus; ēk *āšavazdah nām, *pōrudāstōš pus; ēk wan ī jud-bēš; ēk gōbedšāh; ēk *pišōtan kē [az] čīhrōmēhan xwānēhēd*: "One has said that the rulers of immortal glory of *Xwanirah* are seven: one is *Jōšt* of the *Friy* by name; one, in Avestan, <*Ašam ī*> *Yaxmay-ūšat* by name, also son of the *Friy*; one, *Frašāxsti* by name, son of the *Xumbīg*; one *Āšavazdah* by name, son of

Pōrudāstōš; one the Tree of Antidotes; one *Gōbedšāh*; one *Pišōtan* who is called *Čīhrōmēhan*".

A similar list, where *Jōšt ī Friyān* is omitted, is found in *Bundahišn* 29.5–6 (TD1 83v.2–83v.12, DH 216r.17–216v.4, Anklesaria 1956, pp. 252–55; cf. Justi 1868, pp. 68.18–69.5): **hangōštidag <ī> ān kišwarīhā dudīgar čiyōn kangdiz, rōd ī *nāydg, ērānwēz, war ī jamkard, ud kašmīr ī andarōn, u-š har ēk-ēw rad-ēw <ī> ahāš andar pādixšāyīh kunēd. čiyōn gōwēd kū pišōtan ī wištāspān kē-š čīhrōmēhan-iz xwānēnd pad kangdiz ī bāmīg. agrērad ī pašangān pad zamīg ī *sagīgstān, u-š gōbedšāh xwānēnd. fradāšt ī xumbīgān u-š pad dāšt ī *pēšānsē, ēd rāy xumbīgān kē-šān bīm ī xēšm rāy andar xumb parward. *ašam ī *yaxmay-hušt pad gyāg kē rōd ī *nāydg xwānēnd. wan ī jud-bēš pad ērānwēz, urwatat-nar ī zarduxštān pad jamkard war*: "Similar to those continents <are> others, such as *Kangdiz*, *Rōd ī Nāydg* (See Gnoli 1967, pp. 15 and 83–4 and Cereti 1994, pp. 457–58 and n. 44), *Ērānwēz*, *War ī Jamkard*, and Inner *Kašmīr*, in each one of which an immortal *rad* exerts authority. As one says: *Pišōtan* son of *Wištāsp*, whom they call also *Čīhrōmēhan*, in the glorious *Kangdiz*; *Agrērad* (Av. *Ayraēraša-*) ī *Pašangān* on the land of *Sagīgstān*, they call him *Gōbedšāh*. *Fradāšt ī Xumbīgān* (YAv. *Frašaoštra- Hvōva-*) on the plain of *Pēšānsē*, <they call him> *Xumbīgān* because they fostered <him> under a jug for fear of *Xēšm*. *Ašam ī Yaxmay-hušt*, in the place which they call *Rōd ī Nāydg*; the Tree of Antidotes in *Ērānwēz*; *Urwatat-nar ī Zarduxštān* in the enclosure made by *Jam*". Cf. also the passage in *Dk* 9.16.12–19 (West 1892, pp. 202–04; *DkM* 805.4–18). See also Williams (1990, pt. 2, pp. 244–45).

wan ī jud-bēš: The "Anti-harm Tree", or "Tree of Antidotes". In Pahlavi texts it is also called "tree of many seeds" (*Bd* 6d.5, 16.4; see Anklesaria 1956, pp. 79 and 147) and "tree of all remedies". In the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (MX 62.37, Anklesaria 1913, p. 168), it is called *wan ī jud-bēš ī was tōhmag*. For the different names of this *rad* compare the following passage (*Bd* 24.8, Anklesaria, 1956, pp. 192–95; TD1 62r.13–16): *wan ī was-tōhmag mayān ī zrēh ī frāxw-kard rust ēstēd. u-š *tōhm ī harwispīn urwar padīš. ast kē frārōn bizešk ud ast kē tuxšāg bizešk ud ast kē hamāg-bizešk gōwēd*: "The tree of many seeds grows in the middle of lake *Frāxw-kard*. On it are the seeds of all the plants. One calls it the righteous doctor, one calls it the diligent doctor, and one calls it the doctor for all". For general reference and discussion see Christensen (1931b, pp. 58 and 153ff.). See also Boyce (1975a, p. 138), where it is pointed out that this tree is at times mistaken for the *Gōkarn* tree.

gōbedšāh: Yet another immortal *rad*. See Christensen (1931b, pp. 56, 153ff).

and 158), Bailey (1930-32c, pp. 951-53) Gnoli (1967, pp. 98-99 and 1980, pp. 121-27) and, recently, Humbach (1985).

jōšt ī friyān: Av. *yōišta- fryāna-* (Yt 5.81 and Yt 13.120). Protagonist of a verbal contest with the sorcerer *Axtya*. In Pahlavi literature an *andarz* text is entirely dedicated to this contest: the *Mādayān ī Jōšt ī Friyān*. See West (1880, p. 195 n. 2; 1882, p. 256 n. 2; 1892, p. 29 n.6), Christensen (1931b, pp. 154 and 156), Boyce (1975a, p. 107).

**čīhrōmēhan ī wištāspān *ēd < > pišōtan ī bāmīg ast*: Two Avestan forms of the name *Pišōtan* are known: *pišišyaoθna-* (Yt 13.103) and *pašō.tanū-* (Vyt 4). In NP. we have the forms *bešutan* and *fešutan*. In Pahlavi it presents many different spellings besides those found in ZWY. The readings *pšwtn'* and *pšyd'wtn'* are found in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Williams 1990). In the *Dēnkard* (DkM 640.2, 641.11, 646.12) we have the form *pyšy'wtn'* possibly a minor corruption of *pyššwtn'*, and the similar *pšy'wtn'* < **pššwtn'*. The *Bundahišn* has *pyšywktn'* (TD1 83v.5), *p'sywn'* (TD1 93r.2) *pwšywn'* (DH 223r.5) *pyšywn'* (TD1 99r.17, DH 227v.8 and DH 228v.10) and *pyššw'tn'* (TD1 100v.14). DH (216r.20) reads *pyšywn'* with a *k* written over the *ductus* and then erased. Probably the graphic development has been *pyššwtn' > pyšy'wtn'* then variously corrupted. The original Pahlavi "pronunciation" must have been **piš-šōt'n* developed then to *pišyōtan* and, later still, to *pišōtan*; this evolution is due also to the fact that in the Pahlavi orthographic system an internal *-yō-* would hardly be rendered by the spelling *-y'w-*. The late pronunciation, in its turn, determined the YAv. form *pašō.tanu-* which is attested as a name only in the *Wištāsp Yašt*, a late text. In all its other occurrences it is an adjective. The compared Pahlavi evidence suggests the transcription *piš(y)ōtan*. On account of the late date of composition of the text I have eventually opted for the transcription *pišōtan*. The first to discuss this name in its various Pahlavi renderings, though with some inaccuracies, was Nyberg (1929b, p. 345).

On the various forms of the epithet *čīhrōmēhan* see Christensen (1931b, p. 56, n. 3). As for the graphic rendering of Avestan *a* in Pahlavi see Bailey (1943, pp. 184-91). *Pišōtan* is the immortal *rad* of *Kangdiz*; the most prominent character in the Pahlavi apocalyptic literature. His rôle was originally connected with the future coming of *Sōšāns* and later extended to those of *Ušēdar* and *Ušēdarmāh*. This character has been studied in detail by many scholars among whom Christensen (1931b, pp. 153-56 *et passim*), Boyce (1975a, pp. 281 and 289-90; 1984b, pp. 59-70), Kippenberg (1978, pp. 64-66), and Widengren (1983,

pp. 106 and 110-19).

par. 3

tūr ī brādarōš ī karb: According to the tradition he is the murderer of *Zarduxšt*. The logical nexus between Zoroaster's possible immortality and that of *Tūr ī Brādarōš* is not clear. The noun *karb* is Av. *karapan-* describing a category of priests hostile to Zoroaster. On *Tūr ī Brādarōš* see Jackson (1899, pp. 124-32) and, recently, Williams (1990, vol. 2, p. 192). In the Pahlavi texts his name knows various different spellings. The reading *bl'tlwkyš* (Dk 5.3.2; 7.3.20, 24 (2x), 27 and 32; DkM 437.8, 618.22 (2x), 619.9 and 620.14) suggests the transcription *brādarōrēš*. The *Pahlavi Rivāyat* reads *bl'tlyš* (47.23) and *bl'tlwhš* (36.6), transcribed by Williams (1990) respectively *brādrēš* and *brādarwaxš*, though the second would better be transcribed *brādarōxš/brādrōxš*. Neither the existence nor the quality of the vowel following *d* can be demonstrated. Possibly a contraction of *brādarōrēš* to *brādarēš/brādarōš*, with the alternation of the third vowel, has taken place in the later texts.

ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn: See ch. 9, par. 24.

par. 6

abzōnīg: See *dox*.

xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh pad āb kirb: Possibly behind the formula *pad āb kirb* is hidden a reference to some sort of psychotropic drug. On the initiatory voyages in Iran and the related use of drugs compare *AWN* 3.15 and see Widengren (1955, pp. 66ff.; 1965, pp. 70ff.), Gnoli (1979, pp. 435ff.), Gignoux (1981; 1986a pp. 344-46; 1987, pp. 366-70) and now Shaked (1994, pp. 35ff. and 45ff.). On *Wištāsp* involved in mantic activity see Boyce (1991, p. 378).

par. 8

The following description very closely resembles the style of some chapters of the *Arđā Wīrāz Nāmāg*.

haft rōz-šabān: Parallels in *AWN* 2.17, 3.2 *et passim*. See Gignoux (1984, p. 45 *et passim*).

par. 12

**guhrād*: Otherwise unattested. From a Oir. root *grā-*. From the same root stems the attested causative *guhrāyēndān*.

par. 15

abzōnīg: See dox.

kirs: See Tafazzoli 1990b, pp. 56–58.

u-m nē burzišnīg sahist, u-m burzišnīg sahist: Compare chapters 12, 13 14 and 15 of *AWN* where we find both *u-m burzišnīg sahist* and *u-m abēr burzišnīg sahist* but not *u-m nē burzišnīg sahist* (Gignoux 1984, pp. 60–67).

par. 22

haft āwām: Here the author mentions seven epochs instead of the four reported in chapter one which are more commonly found in classical antiquity. The number seven was, as is well known, an important number in antiquity, particularly in the area of Mesopotamian culture. Possibly the author, or his source, has preferred this variant in conformity to the seven continents, the seven days, the seven planets etc. For the number "seven" in the eschatological context refer to *WZad* ch. 35 (Gignoux–Tafazzoli 1993, pp. 126–41). For a possible Babylonian influence see Boyce (1991, p. 386). The number seven is recurrent in the description of the fortress of *Kangdiz*, see Boyce (1984b, pp. 61–64). Seven "*saecula*", quite different from those of *ZWY*, are mentioned also in the Oracles of Hystaspes. Gignoux, with reference to Bogaert (1969), remarks that apocalypses are often made of seven sections (Gignoux 1988a, p. 68); moreover, he states that the seven metals correspond to those assigned to the planets in a Syriac source (Gignoux 1986b, p. 59 and n. 22). See also Kippenberg (1978, pp. 71–72) and Gignoux (1986a, p. 343; 1987, pp. 357–59). On the Avestan prophecy see also the third chapter of the fifth book of the *Dēnkard* (Molé 1967, pp. 110–13; *DkM* 437.3–23). On the succession of epochs compare the following passage in the *Bundahišn* (*Bd* 36.8–9, Anklesaria 1956 pp. 306–07; TD1 102v.11–103r.4; DH 230r.5–13): *pas hazārag xwadāyih ō wahīg mad. zarduxšt ī spitāmān pad paygāmbarih ī az dādār ohrmazd ō wištāsp šāh āmad. wištāsp šāh pas <az> padīrftan ī dēn nawad sāl. wahman ī spandyādān ēk sad dwāzdah sāl. humāy <ī> wahman duxt sth sāl. *dārāy <ī> čihrazādān ī ast wahman *dwāzdah sāl. dārāy ī dārāyān čahārdah sāl. aleksandar ī hrōmāy čahārdah sāl. āškānān, ī pad ahlaw xwadāyih nām barēnd, dwēst ud and sāl. u-š ardaxšīr ī pābagān ud sāsānān *a-mar čahār sad ud *sē sāl tā gyāg ayāft <ī> *hunušak ī tāziḡān <ī> tā sāl čahārsad ud čehel ud haft ī pārsīgān. nūn panj ud wīst <ud> haft sāl ī pārsīg: "Then the sovereignty of the millennium came to the Capricorn. Zarduxšt ī Spitāmān came, in apostolate from the*

creator *Ohrmazd*, to king *Wištāsp*. King *Wištāsp*, after having accepted the religion, <reigned> ninety years. *Wahman* son of *Spandyād*, one hundred and twelve years. *Humāy*, daughter of *Wahmān*, thirty years. *Dārāy*, son of *Čihrazād* who is *Wahman*, twelve years. *Dārāy ī Dārāyān*, fourteen years. *Aleksandar* the *Hrōmāy*, fourteen years. The *Āškānān*, who are renowned for righteous rule, two hundred and some years. *Ardaxšīr* son of *Pābag* and the countless Sasanians, four hundred and three years, until the offspring of the Arabs gained foot; they <ruled> until the *Pārsīg* year four hundred and forty seven. Now it is the *Pārsīg* year five <hundred> and twenty seven". Compare also the following well-known passage taken from *Dēnkard* book four (*DkM* 411.17–413.14; *B* 512.16–510.9. Cf., among others, Bailey 1943, pp. 81, 218–19 *et passim*; Wikander 1946, pp. 134–36; Zaehner 1955, pp. 7–9 and 31–34; Shaki 1981): *wištāsp šāh, ka az kārezār ī abāg arjāsp pardaxt būd ō sarxwadāyān abar padīrftan ī dēn <ī> frēstag ud nibēgihā ī az wisp-dānāgih pēsīd <ī> māzdēs n dēn <ī> pad was ēwēnag abzār ud frahang [ud] būd [ī]. ham-iz kār-*ēw frahixt-uzwān mowmard abāg frēstēd. *spītō ud arzarāsp ud abārīg ī az be xwanīrah pad dēn-pursišnūh ō frašōštar āmad hēnd <ud> spurr-āgāhīhā wisē kard.*

dārāy ī dārāyān hamāg abestāg ud zand, čiyōn zarduxšt az ohrmazd padīrft, nibištāg dō paččēn, ēk pad ganj ī šabīgān ud ēk pad diz ī nibišt dāstan [ud] framūd.

*walaxš ī āškānān abestāg ud zand čiyōn abēzagihā andar āmad ēstād, ud hammōg-iz ī u-š har čē az wizend ud *āšōb-pahikārīh ī aleksandar ud *ēwār ud rōb ī hrōmāyān andar ērānšahr pargandagihā abar nibištāg tā čē uzwān abespārīšnīg pad dastwar mānd ēstād andar šahr čiyōn frāz mad ēstād nigāh dāstan, ō šahrīhā-*ēw ayādgār kardan framūd.*

*ōy bay ardaxšīr šāhān šāh ī pābagān, pad rāst dastwarīh <ī> tōsar, ān-iz hammōg ī pargandag [ud] hamāg ō dar xwāst. tōsar abar mad ud ān ī ēk frāz padīrft ud abārīg az dastwar hišt. ud ēn-iz framān dād kū frāz ō amā har nigēzišn ān *ī bawēd az dēn māzdēs n, čē nūn-iz āgāhīh ud dānišn az-iš frōd nēst.*

*šābuhr ī šāhān šāh ī ardaxšīrān nibēgihā-iz ī az dēn be abar bizeškīh ud star-gōwīšnūh ud čandišn ud zamān ud gyāg ud gōhr <ud> dahišn ud bawišn ud wināhišn ud jadag-wihīrīh ud gōwāgih ud abārīg kīrōgih ud abzār <ī> andar hindūgān ud hrōm <ud> abārīg-*iz zamīgihā pargandag būd abāz ō ham āwurd ud abāg abestāg abāz handāxt. ud har ān ī *drust paččēn ō [ō] ganj ī šabīgān dādan framūd. ud ēstēnīdan ī hamāg *argastān abar dēn māzdēs n ō uskār kard.*

*šābuhr šāhān šāh ī *hormizdān hamāg kišwarīgān pad pahikārišn <ī>
 *abē-wihānag kardan, <ud> hamāg gōwišn ō uskār <ud> *wizōyišn āwurd. pas
 az bōxtan ī ādurbād pad gōwišn ī passāxt abāg hamāg awēšān jud-*sardagān
 [ud]*ī *nask-ōšmurdān-iz ud [t] jud-ristagān ēn-iz guft kū: nūn ka mān dēn
 pad stī bē dīd kas-iz ag-dēnūh be nē *hilēm, <ud> wēš abar tuxšāg tuxšēm.
 ud ham-gōnag kard.

im bay husraw šāhān šāh <ī> kawādān čiyōn-aš ahlomōyīh, ud sātārīh
 spurr-hamēstārīhā wānūd pad paydāgīh az dēn andar har ahlomōyīh, čahār
 pēšag āgāhīh ud uskārīšn ī dōgānīg wasīhā be abzūd. ēn-iz pad yazadān
 *xradih guft kū: rāstīh ī dēn māzdēsēn be dānist ōšyārān pad uskārīšn
 ōstīgīhā tuwān *be pad gētīg *ēstēnūd.

"Once king *Wištāsp* had overcome the battle with *Arjāsp* <he ordered> to the
 chiefs <to go> and receive the religion of the prophet and the scriptures adorned
 with omniscience of the Mazdean religion to which many kinds of skills and
 learnings belong. On the same errand he sent together <with them> skilled-
 tongued magi. *Spītō*, *Arzarāsp* and others from outside *Xwanīrah* have come to
Frašōštar to ask about the religion and he despatched them with full knowledge.

Dārāy son of *Dārāy* ordered to write two copies of the whole Avesta and
Zand <exactly> as *Zarduxšt* had received it from *Ohrmazd*, and to keep one in
 the Satrapal Treasury and one in the Fortress of Writings.

Walaxš of the Arsacids ordered to send to each province a memoir <which
 commanded> to preserve the Avesta and the Zand as undefiled as it had
 reached <them>, and also its teachings that had been dispersed in *Erānšahr* on
 account of the destruction and the turmoil by Alexander and the larcenies and
 robberies of the Macedonians. Those which <survived> in writing and also what
 was preserved among the clergy in oral tradition.

That lord *Ardaxšīr*, king of kings, son of *Pābag*, through the true authority
 of *Tōsar*, ordered all these dispersed writings to the court. *Tōsar* dealt with them
 and accepted those of one <tradition> and left out the others from the canon.
 And he gave this order also: "<From now on> all expositions regarding the
 Mazdean religion <shall be put> forth to us, because now there is no lack of
 knowledge and wisdom in this regard.

Šābuhr, king of kings, son of *Ardaxšīr*, again gathered the scriptures which
 <originated> from the religion and regarded medicine, astrology, movement, time,
 space, substance, creation, becoming, destruction, transformation, eloquence and
 other arts and sciences, which were dispersed in India, Byzantium and also in
 other lands, and allotted them back with the Avesta. And he ordered to give a

good copy of each of them to the Satrapal Treasury. He <ordered> to discuss
 the belonging of each of the systems to the Mazdean religion.

Šābuhr, king of kings, son of *Hormizd*, brought people from all the regions
 to hold a dispute without prejudice and to <submit> all statements to
 consideration and investigation. Once through the procedure <of molten copper
 his> statements <had been proved correct> and *Ādurbād* was saved, he said to
 all those sectarians who also study the *nasks* and to the heretics: "Now that we
 have seen the religion in its essence, we will not pardon anybody's heterodoxy
 and we will endeavour to be very diligent". And thus he did.

This lord *Husraw*, king of kings, son of *Kawād*, once he had destroyed, with
 great hostility, heresy and tyranny, following what is revealed in the religion
 about all heresies, he much increased the knowledge of the four guilds and the
 dualistic considerations. And, through the wisdom of the gods he said this: "The
 truth of the Mazdean religion is <well> known, through reflection can conscious
 men establish it firmly in the material world".

The Pahlavi text of *ZWY* presents the surprising inversion between the
 Arsacid and the Sasanian periods. The Persian and Pāzand present different
 accounts. The Persian version has the following sequence: 1) Conversation
 between *Zarduxšt* and *Ohrmazd* and conversion of *Goštāsp*; 2) *Ardašīr-e*
Kayān; 3) Arsacids and Alexander (*Askandar*); 4) *Ardašīr jahān ārāstar*, *Šāpur*
šāh and *Ādarbād-e Mahrāsfand*; 5) *Bahrām Gur*; 6) *Xosru-e Qobādān*; 7) End
 of the millennium and rule of the *dēws* (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, p. 88; Dhabhar
 1932, pp. 459–60). The Pāzand version reads as follows: *vas gufta hōramazda*
ku, spitamən zaraθuštr, daraxt-ō ki θō dīt gētī hast ī mən hōramazda dāt.
*hafta azga hafta ōgəm hast <i> [būt]*bahōt. q ī zarīn ku θō [i]*u mən dīt*
ham-pursīm. q ī sīmīn hašāī guštāspa šāh ku guštāspa dīn mazdayasna
*pədirafta rəst dēwən *kāl būt bē skanāt əz āskārī nihq dvārīšnī əstēnda.*
āhārəman awā wasūdagan pa stardān bāz ō taratum dōžax dvārən. paharəja
i āw u ātāš u gōspənī u urvara u zamīn pidā bahōt. u qn i naranjīqan hašāī
sīsanyanən ku jaī rastai əz gəhə bē šahōt, u akamana kalasyāk i gar əz īn
*dīni bē *šāhīt, apədə bahōt. u q i rvīn [i] *hašāī haša <ardaxšīr>*
*[vāstār]*ārāstār u gəhən vīrāstār u hašāī šāhpūr kē īn gəhən mən hōramazda*
dāt ārāit buxtārī i pa gəhən pēdā kunat ādarabāt i mārspəndən i pērōz baxtā
awazūnū i dīni ārāstār pa vārāstār pa var pasāxta īn dīn jaī rastagar dīn āhō
u kəšq awāz ō rāstai u ēwarī āwarāt. u qn i aržīzīn hašāī i bahīrəm gōr ka
mainyō rāmašnū pa gəhən vīnāvada u pēdā bahōt. u pulāvādīn hašāī xusruba
kaivāda ki anošrvan hānanda. u ālūnən awar gumāxta əstāt ka hazār θō sar

*bahōt, haṣāi i dēwq i syāh jāma vajāraṭ *wars, xasm tuxm.* (Antia 1909, pp. 340.14–341.11). A fleeting mention to the metal epochs can be found in *Dk* 5.3.1–3 (West 1897, pp. 126–7; *DkM* 437.3–16).

par. 24

*ardaxšīr i kay, *kē wahman i spandiyādān xwānīhēd*: On the identification of this character with Artaxerxes I see ch. 1 par. 9.

par. 25

ardaxšīr i gēhān ārāstār: *Ardaxšīr i Pābagān* (22?–240 CE).

šābuhr: *Šābuhr* II (309–379 CE)

ādurbād: *Ādurbād i Mahraspandān*. Restorer of the Mazdean faith, known through various Pahlavi texts. See Justi *sub voce* *Ātarepāta* (1895, p. 49).

rōy i <widāxt> passāxtag: On the ordeal of molten copper see *DkM* 644.18ff. where 33 different methods of ordeal are listed. For a detailed list of the various references to this practice in Pahlavi literature refer to Macuch (1987) where further bibliography can be found. As for the *Dēnkard* passage in book four (for which see chap. 3, par. 22), the translation proposed by Macuch (1987, p. 322): "nach-dem Freispruch des A.i.M. durch den Spruch des Ordals" falters, in my opinion, so far as *gōwišn* should not be intended as the "Spruch" but rather as the "argumentations" or "words" of *Ādurbād*.

<pahikārēd ud>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 14).

par. 26

aškānān: The comparison with the *Bundahišn* passage mentioned (*Bd* 36.8–9, for which see ch. 3, par. 22) suggests, contrarily to what was proposed by Anklesaria, not inserting the proper name *Walaxš*. For the sequence of ages see ch. 3, par. 22.

jud-ristagīh <i> but: "Heresy of the Buddha" or "heresy of the idols". Differently West (1880, p. 200), Anklesaria (1957, p. 105) and Boyce (1984a, p. 92) who prefer to translate: "...which exist" or the like. Widengren (1961, p. 187) does not translate the term but accepts, by and large, the interpretation of the authors previously mentioned. A possible identification of the Buddha would be very interesting both because there are few attestations of his name in the Pahlavi texts and because it could provide new perspectives for the study of inter-religious relationships in the Arsacid period. On the name of the Buddha in Middle Iranian texts see Bailey (1930–32b) and, recently, more specifically for the Manichaean texts, Sundermann (1991, pp. 426–29). Contrary to this

hypothesis is the well attested interpretation of *but* as "idol". For the description of the persecution of idol-worshippers in epigraphical documents such as Kerdīr's inscriptions see Skjærvø (1983a), MacKenzie (1989) and Gignoux (1991).

**aleksandar *i *kilīsāyīg*: This identification is rather doubtful, the text reads *'kndgl*. In later parts of the texts the epithet *kilīsāyīg* is always assigned to *Šēdāsp*. See *infra* ch. 6, par. 3. Compare also *Dk* 7.8.2 and 7.8.47 (*DkM* 657.22ff. and 665.22ff.; Molé 1967, pp. 80–81 and 88–89). See also West (1880, p. 200) and Gignoux (1987, p. 358 n. 19).

par. 27

wahrām gōr: *Wahrām V* (422?–438/9 CE) One of the most famous Sasanian sovereigns. The character of this king, symbol of chivalry, was to achieve great fame in Persian poetry. See Christensen (1944, pp. 274–82 *et passim*) and, for his rôle in Zoroastrian apocalyptic, Cereti (forthcoming).

par. 28

husraw i kawādān: *Husraw I Anōšērwan* (531–579 CE). See ch. 1, par. 10 and ch. 2, par. 2.

mazdak: See *supra*, ch. 2, par. 1.

par. 29

<duš-pādixšāyīh i dēwān i wizārd-wars i xēšm-tōhmag>: See ch. 1, par. 11. Cf. Anklesaria (1957, p. 16).

CHAPTER FOUR

par. 1

abzōnīg: See *dox*.

par. 3

dēwān i wizārd-wars: Cf. Anklesaria (1957, p. 16). See ch. 1, par. 11.

par. 4

az kustag i xwarāsān: "From the side of *Xwarāsān*". The establishment of the identity of these invaders would provide an important clue to date the *Zand i Wahman Yasn*. According to Gignoux (Gignoux 1986a pp. 339–40; 1986b,

pp. 59f.) the fact that they are described as wearing black armour recalls Abu Moslem and the Abbasids. From evidence internal to the text, West (1880, p. 202, n. 1) suggests identifying them with some Turkish people. According to Boyce (1991, p. 384 *et passim*) this element should be ascribed to a late redaction of the text. For a more detailed discussion refer to Cereti (forthcoming).

ul-grift drafš: For this expression and the similar *ul-drafš*, found in ZWY 6.6, compare Av. *uzgəraptō drafša-* in *haēnayāšča uzgəraptō drafšayā* (Yt 1.11). Similar in meaning is Av. *ərəwō drafša-* "with raised banner" as in *haēnayāšča ərəwō drafšayā* (Yt 1.11) and *bāxšīm srīram ərəwō drafšam* (Vd 1.6). Of particular interest is this last expression where the concept is related to Bactria. On the latter passage see also Christensen (1919, pp. 22ff.). As regards the evolution that brought about confusing Xēšm's epithet *xurdruš* (Av. *xrvī drav-*): "with the bloody club" with *ul-drafš*, noted by Mackenzie (1971, p. 94), it can be described as follows: *hlw-dlwš* > *hwl-dlwš* = *'wl-dlwš* > *'wl-dlpš*. It never appears as *LALA-dlpš*, while forms closer to the Avestan, as *hldlwš*, *hlwdlpš*, are found in our text. The form "*xrudruš*" is reported by Bartholomae (1904, col. 540).

par. 6

ērān dehān: From the Av. genitive *airyanam dahyunam*. For a detailed discussion of the concept of *Ērān* see Gnoli (1989).

(*ēn ērān dehān*) *ī man ohrmazd-dād*: Compare the standard formula in Vd 1: *frāθwarəšəm azəm yō ahurō mazdā* (Vd 1.2 *et passim*).

par. 7

āzādīh ud wuzurgīh ud dahigānīh: For LBA W 'z't W *ktkhwt'y* and similar forms found in the inscription of Narseh at Paikuli refer to Skjærvø (1983b, pt. 32, pp. 45-46). The first two terms are found together also in ŠHaj 1. 6 and ŠMŠ 1. 10. For these social groups in Sasanian times see, among others, Christensen (1944, pp. 110-13 *et passim*).

ātaxš ī wahrām: On the "Victorious Fire" and on the interpretation of *wahrām* as an adjective see Boyce (1982, pp. 222-25) and Williams (1990, pt. 2, p. 156).

dād-gāh: Among modern Zoroastrians the term *Dād-gāh* is used to define the third category of Sacred Fires, the first two being, in order of importance, the *Ātaš Wahrām* and the *Ātaš Ādarān*. The *Dād-gāh* Fire, consecrated from household fire, requires a less complicated ceremonial and can also be tended by

the laity. However the term *dād-gāh*, from Av. *dāitya- gātav-*: "legally prescribed place", was used in the Pahlavi texts in a standard formula to describe the seating of a Sacred Fire and, in this context, stood for the temple proper (Cf. Boyce 1968b, p. 61 and n. 65). Differently de Menasce (1964, pp. 10-11) prefers the literal translation "(au) lieu prescrit". The difference in the preposition, *pad* in place of *ō*, is probably to be ascribed to the fact that while the passages mentioned by Boyce refer to an action *in fieri* the passage of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* describes a set situation.

par. 8

rōstāg, šahr, deh, dūdag: As Gignoux shows (1986b, p. 60), these administrative divisions refer to late Sasanian administration, thus confirming the late age of the composition of our text.

<*wuzurg*>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 19).

par. 9

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 10

dēwān ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

par. 12

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 21

ēr: For a detailed and convincing discussion on the term *ēr*: "Iranian" in the Pahlavi texts see Gnoli (1986). On the pair *ēr/ērān* see Gnoli (1989, pp. 136-48 *et passim*).

par. 23ff.

Prohibitions against pollution through *nasā* (dead matter) are present throughout Zoroastrian ritual doctrine. On them and on the specific purification ceremonies see, *inter alia*, Dhabhar (1932, pp. 77-165 and 272-75), to which compare the relevant passages in Unvâlâ (1922). On purificatory rituals in general see Modi (1922a, pp. 86-177). For modern practices among Iranian Zoroastrians see Boyce (1977, pp. 92-138). On Zoroastrian funerary ceremonies see Modi (1922a, pp. 51-86; 1934) and Boyce (1977, 139-63). On Iranian

funerary customs in the classical age see Benveniste (1962).

par. 25

xēšm: See ch. 4, par. 26 and ch. 8, par. 2.

āz: The demon Greed. For a detailed description and discussion see Zaehner (1955, pp. 166-83). See also ch. 8, par. 2.

par. 26

xēšm ī xurdruš: Av. *xrvīdrav-* "with the bloody club", is the usual epithet of *Xēšm* (*aēšmō xrvīdruš*, Yt 19.95 etc.). In the Pahlavi texts, it is often wrongly rendered by *ul-drafs* for which see ch. 4 par.4. On the rôle played by the demon *Aēšma-*: "Wrath" in the eschatology and mythology of the Zoroastrians see Boyce (1975a, pp. 87, 201 and 288).

dēw ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 27

ēbyānghan: Av. *aiwyānghan-*, synonym of the more common *kustīg*. On the *Naajote* ceremony today, and on the symbolism of the *kustīg*, see Modi (1922a, pp. 178-96).

pādyābīh: The condition of having undergone *pādyāb*. Among the Parsis *pādyāb* is the simpler form of purification, performed by washing oneself with water, which must be done several times during the day; see Modi (1922a, pp. 92-95). In the Iranian communities Dari *pājōw* (<*pādyāb*) designates bovine urine employed for external use, see Boyce (1977, pp. 92-93). Similar is the use according to the *Rivāyats* where it can refer both to *gōmēz* or purified water, see Dhabhar (1932, pp. 294-300 *et passim*).

par. 29

baršnūm: This term indicates the major purification ritual of the Zoroastrians. It is described in *Vd* 8.35-72, 9.1-57, 19.20-25. For a detailed description see Modi (1922a, pp. 102-53), see also Dhabhar (1932, pp. 138 and 378-93), Boyce (1977, pp. 111-38) and Choksy (1989, pp. 23-52).

may: "Pit" according to the description of the *baršnūm-gāh* in *Vd* 9.1-11. However in modern practice the pit was replaced by a set of five small stones. See Modi (1922a, pp. 112-19).

par. 30

nasā-kadag: Known also as *marg-zād*, *zād-marg* or *zād-o-marg xāne*, refers to the place where, in earlier times, the corpse was brought immediately after death. Many Zoroastrian houses in Iran were provided with chambers devoted to this purpose and public *nasā-xānes* existed for the needy. The same custom was also observed in Gujrat. See Modi (1922a, pp. 57-58) and Dhabhar (1932, pp. 155-56). At present, in Iran, these houses are used for the ablutions of the *sālār* and as a depository for the iron biers, see Boyce (1977, p. 150).

barsom: As is well known, the *barsom* is the most important ritual implement used by the Zoroastrian clergy. Originally made of vegetable twigs which were later replaced by metallic wires. See Modi (1922a, pp. 277-86). The substitution of the vegetable twigs with metal wires was, at first, not approved of by the Iranian Zoroastrians as is shown by the *Rivāyats*, see Dhabhar (1932, pp. 327-28 and 418).

drōn: Among the Parsis *drōn* designates basically a flat, round loaf of bread used for the *Yasna*, *Visperad*, *Vendidād*, and *Bāj* ceremonies. Several ceremonies go under the name of *drōn*. Here the reference could be to the *drōn-e srōš*, celebrated on the occasion of death, but more probably, also on account of its relation with the *barsom*, it is a generic reference to the *yašt ī drōn* for which see Boyce-Kotwal (1971, pp. 64-65). See further Modi (1922a, pp. 296-99), Dhabhar (1932, pp. 171-73), and Boyce (1977, pp. 159 and 163). For the late identification of *bāj* with *drōn* refer to Boyce-Kotwal (1971) where further bibliography is to be found.

par. 31

yazišn ī pad dō mard: Nowadays the term *yazišn* has the more specific meaning of celebration of the *Yasna* ceremony, for which see Modi (1922a, pp. 266-329). The mention of the two men might be a reference to the *paywand*, for which see Modi (1922a, p. 55, *et passim*), Dhabhar (1932, pp. 159-64, 229-31, 237-39, *et passim*), Boyce (1977, pp. 128-30, *et passim*).

ātaxš ī wahrām: See ch. 4 par. 7.

ēsm ud bōy: Reference to the ceremony of the ritual feeding of the fire for which see Modi (1922a, pp. 230-39) and Boyce (1977, pp. 74-75).

par. 32

yašt kard ēstēd ud nērangestān nē dānēd: The performance of the act of worship without knowing the rules on purity. Many ceremonies can be referred

to as *Yašt*. Possibly we have here a veiled reference to the ceremony which the Parsis call by the name of *Hamāyašt* or *Homāšt* (*hōmāst*) on which see Modi (1922a, pp. 431–33). On *Nērangestān*, the Avestan code of ritual prescriptions, see Sanjana (1894), Bulsara (1915), Waag (1941), Gershevitch (1968, pp. 26–27), and Kotwal-Boyd (1980). A new edition by Kotwal and Kreyenbroek has been announced.

par. 35

āzādagān ud wuzurgān: See ch. 4, par. 7. See also Gignoux (1986a p. 343; 1986b, p. 60).

par. 36

āzādagān ud wuzurgān: See ch. 4, par. 35.

par. 40

yazišn: See ch. 4, par. 31.

par. 51

jašn: This word has the general meaning of "festivals" and can refer to any kind of celebration. In the Parsi calendar it is applied to a number of holidays for which see Modi (1922a, pp. 455–65) and Boyce (1970). Texts on the Zoroastrian calendar have been discussed by Nyberg (1934).

nihādag ī pēšēnagān: On the pious foundations of the Zoroastrians see de Menasce (1964), Boyce (1968c) and Macuch (1993, pp. 252–66).

usōfrīt: Consecrated or ritual offering; Av. *usafritay-* for which see *Vd* 18.12.

yazišn: See ch. 4, par. 31.

gāhānbār: On the important *Gāhānbār* holidays today and on connected ceremonies see Modi (1922a, pp. 446–55) and Boyce (1977, pp. 31–51). Today this term is used also to signify other services (See Boyce 1977, pp. 54 and 204–06). For a description of these mainly seasonal festivals and of their development through the various calendar reforms see Boyce (1970).

frawardīgān: The "festival of all souls", dedicated to the commemoration of the souls of the dead. On this festival, connected with *Now Ruz*, see Modi (1922a, pp. 465–79) and Boyce (1977, pp. 213–35). For the same festival in its historical development see Boyce (1970).

par. 53

weh-dēn: Here used similarly to the modern Behdin, in *ZWY* it is found both with *mardōm* or alone. Often the similar *wehān* is also found.

par. 54

*āzād ud wuzurg ud *dahigān*: see ch. 4, par. 35.

par. 58

This paragraph has been translated, and the ethnic names thoroughly discussed, by Bailey (1930–32c, pp. 945–53). The corresponding passage in the Persian version (Unvālā 1922, vol. 2, p. 91.6–7; cf. Dhahhar 1932, p. 465), though rather corrupt, reads: *xun <va> torke <va> xāsār va tuftid va āzāraki va ti čiz <va> čini* (Bk) *va kāboli va sojdī va xromāi va kāh hame in andar irānšahr dvārand*. The better preserved Pāzand version reads as follows (Antia 1909, p. 344.7–9): *čūn hayūn turk azarat afš čīnī kāsūrt u sūdī u xarmāra hayūn u spiš hayūn sahar pādašāhā rawā framq bōnī*.

hyōn: Often translated by Hun. There is an ample bibliography on these peoples and on the contacts they had with the Roman Empire to the west and with the Chinese Empire to the east. The "Huns" are also to be found in Indian sources. Many authors have identified the Avestic name *hyaona-*, corresponding to Mp. *hyōn*, with the Chionites. Here we have preferred to leave the term untranslated because any translation would require a historical and chronological interpretation. As regards this ethnonym in the Iranian context we must at least mention Bailey (1930–32c, 1954 and 1972, the latest one specifically on the etymology of this name), Markwart (1901, p. 50), Ghirshman (1948), Herzfeld (1947 pp. 771–74) and Maenchen-Helfen (1959, p. 228). A relatively recent assessment of the discussion and the relative bibliography can be found in Gnoli (1967, pp. 117–19). In the passage we are concerned with now this ethnonym has been read as *hēn*: "army", by West (1880, p. 209) and Anklesaria (1957, p. 112); Widengren (1961, p. 193) proposes "Chioniten". Compare also *Dk* 5.3.1, 7.4.87–90 (*DkM* 437.3–4 and 643.2–22, Molé 1967, pp. 110–11 and 58–61) and *Ayādgar ī Zarērān* 65.66.

turk: Easily identifiable with the Turkish peoples. In the Pahlavi texts this name has otherwise been used, as an alternative to the regular *tūr*, to render the Av. *tūra-*.

xadur: West (1880, p. 209) and Anklesaria (1957, p. 112) propose the improbable *a-tūr*: "not-Turanians". Widengren (1961, p. 193), following Bailey's

first interpretation (1930–32c, pp. 946–47) translates: "Heftaliten". However, later Bailey (1954, p. 21), going by data given by Henning (1952), proposed identifying this ethnonym with the Xazar. The Pāzand form: *azarat*, possibly stemming from a Pahlavi form with initial *h*-, and even more the Persian *xāsār*, support this latter proposal. The interpretation of this ethnonym is bound to influence the dating of the text. If, as I consider quite possible, *xadur* refers to the Xazar then the *Zand ī Wahman* cannot have been composed before the late years of the Sasanian empire.

tōbīd: "Tibetans". Identified by Bailey (1930–32c, p. 947), through the comparison with Arab sources. As regards the dating of our text we must consider that the Tibetan empire only grew in importance in the eighth century CE. Compare also Sogdian *twp'wt*- (Henning 1940, p. 11).

*čiyōn *hindūg ud kōfyār*: West (1880, pp. 209–10) and Widengren (1961, p. 193) read *čiyōn andarag kōfyār* and translate respectively "as among the mountaineers" and "wie anderseits Bergherrscher". Anklesaria (1957, pp. 34 and 112) proposes the reading *Aūdrak*. Bailey (1930–32c, p. 947) concords with West and Widengren and translates "who are among the mountain dwellers". Nonetheless, it is my opinion that in a list of this kind we should look for an ethnonym. Therefore I propose the reading *hindūg*, where *hndwk* > *hndlk* because of a *w* written too big in the original. A possible opposition would be in the fact that all the people mentioned except for the dreaded *hrōmāyīg* are Central-Asian, but this can be overcome if this ethnonym does not refer to the Indians of India proper but to the inhabitants of the area where the Kushan empire thrived as suggested in the epic literature (Czeplédy 1958, p. 42 n. 85). Bailey (1930–32c, p. 947) also reports that *kōfyār* was the title of the sovereigns of *Armāil*. Very interesting in this context is a passage in Al Biruni's *India* which reads as follows in Sachau's translation: "As the name *union of the five rivers* occurs in this part of the world (in Panjāb), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above mentioned mountain chains, for the rivers which flow thence towards the north, after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called *the union of the seven rivers*. The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana have confounded these two things; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is *Sindh*, and its upper course *barīdīsh*. A man descending on it sees the sinking of the sun on his right side if he turns his face towards the west, as we see it here on our left side (*sic*)" (Sachau 1910, vol. 1, pp. 260–61). If this is the geographical setting, then we should accept Bailey's suggestion to locate the *Kōfyār* in the area that lies beyond Samarkand (Bailey

1930–32c, p. 947).

**čīnīg ud *kābulīg ud subdīg*: See Bailey (1930–32c, pp. 948ff.).

hrōmāyīg: Obviously this name does not belong to any eastern foe, it was probably inserted because of the rôle played by the Greeks first and then the Macedonians, the Romans and the Byzantines as arch-enemies of the Iranian empire for many centuries.

**karmīr hyōn ud spēd hyōn*: "Red Huns" and "White Huns". For these two ethnonyms and the discussions concerning them see the bibliography mentioned in ch. 4, par. 58 under the heading *hyōn* and in particular Bailey (1954).

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 59

pādīxšāyīh az awēšān dawāl-kustīgān ud tāzīgān ud hrōmāyīgān be ō awēšān rasēd: It is my opinion that this sentence clearly sets the action in the Islamic period. The ethnonyms mentioned in this paragraph pertain to areas where the Zoroastrian community survived the fall of the Sasanian empire. Thus they reflect traditions of Zoroastrians who had fled to Central Asia after the Islamic conquest or which had developed in the independent Caspian reigns; see Cereti (forthcoming). The identification of the *dawāl-kustīgān* with the Turks mentioned in other passages is evident from the parallel of the various passages where all three of the great enemies are mentioned. Some problems are caused by the fact that the *hrōmāyīgān* are mentioned in both lists, and it is doubtful that they could be solved by linking them to remembrances of the distant Indo-Greeks. The hypothesis that in the first list this name may refer to the Crusaders is suggestive but not convincing. Possibly this double presence is only due to the distraction of the author.

par. 63

kūnmarz: Cf. Av. *narō.vaēiṣya*:- "päderasterisch" (Bartholomae 1904, col. 1053) whose Pahlavi rendering in *Vd* 1.11 is *mard-wēbīg* glossed by *kūnmarz*. See also *Vd* 3.7, 7.52 and 8.74.

daštānmarz: Not known in the existing parts of the Avesta. Compare *AWN* ch. 22.

par. 64

spandarmad zamīg abar āyēd: Though earthquakes are commonly found in apocalyptic literature it is quite possible that here we have a reference to a

particular one which struck the writer's imagination. We have few records of earthquakes which took place in Iran in the pre-Islamic period. Among these should be mentioned one destructive earthquake or, possibly, a series of earthquakes which took place in the north-west after the passage of Alexander through Rhagae (*Rāy*) in 330 BCE, possibly during the reign of Seleukos (Ambraseys-Melville 1982, pp. 35-36). In the early Islamic period a number of earthquakes have been recorded in historical sources. Among these the following are worthy of note: 763 CE in *Xorāsān*, possibly in the "Kuhistan district (Khawf, Qayin, Tabas) or in the Jajarm, Juvain, Nishapur area" (Ambraseys-Melville 1982, p. 37). "856, December 22 Qumis. On Tuesday, 18 Sha'ban 242, there was a catastrophic earthquake in eastern Alburz which devastated the district of Qumis and the region of western Khurasan dependant on Nishapur", this earthquake killed 200,000 people and destroyed the whole irrigation system of the area involved, "Aftershocks continued for some years, probably causing damage in Khurasan" (Ambraseys-Melville 1982, p. 37). 958 CE "February 23 Ray-Taliquan. On 1 Dhu 'l Hijja 346 there was a catastrophic earthquake in north-central Persia. It destroyed all the villages in the districts of Ray and Taliquan...". Two other earthquakes, one in 956 in Hamadan and one in April 958 in Hulvan, occurred in the same period (Ambraseys-Melville 1982, p. 39). Later still, in 1209 another catastrophic earthquake nearly destroyed Nishapur and a great part of western *Xorāsān* (Ambraseys-Melville 1982, p. 42). Of course many other earthquakes took place in the Islamic period (for a general overview of earthquakes in Iran see Ambraseys-Melville 1982, pp. 34-104), but taking into account magnitude, location and date, and agreeing on an early Islamic date for the final redaction of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, all evidence points either to the one in 856 in Qumis or to that in 958 in Ray and Taliquan. If this proves to be true we have good reasons to consider the final redaction of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* as contemporary or slightly later than the majority of other Pahlavi texts.

par. 67

tan ī pasēn: See ch. 9, par. 24.

par. 68

kirs: See ch. 3, par. 15.

CHAPTER FIVE

par. 1

Compare the parallel passages in the *Vendidād* (*Vd* 2.1, 7.1, 14.1) where, with small changes, we find Pahlavi *pursīd zardušt az ohrmazd kū, ohrmazd, mēnōg <I> abzōnīg, dādār ī gēhān ī astōmandān ī ahlaw, {hād, ohrmazd (dādār ud) ahlaw pad xwānīšn ud abārīg pad stāyišn (kū ohrmazd dādār ahlaw gōwēd),* a set formula which renders Avestan: *pərəsaē zaraθuštrō ahurəm mazdām: ahura mazda mainyō spəñišta dātara gaēθanəm astvaitīnəm ašaum.*

abzōnīg: See dox.

barsom: See ch. 4, par. 30.

xwēdōdah: For the permanence of this well known and ancient Zoroastrian custom in Islamic times as testified by the *Rivāyats* see Dhabhar (1932, pp. 292-94).

par. 2

barsom: See chapter 4, par. 30.

<ēdōn čiyōn>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 40).

par. 3

iθā āt yazamaidē u ašəm vohū: The first part is the set formula which introduces and by which is evoked Y 37 (*iθā āt yazamaidē ahurəm mazdām (...) ašāunəm fravašīš (...) yazamaidē ašəm at vahištəm yazamaidē (...) vohučā manō yazamaidē*). According to Bartholomae (1904) the use of the 2nd sg. middle of the verb, in present tense and with a personified object indicates the act of worshipping. *Ašəm Vohū* is the set formula introducing Y 27.14 and with it one intends to evoke this prayer. The importance of the *Ašəm Vohū* for modern Zoroastrians is well described by Modi (1922a, pp. 348-49).

dwāzdah-hōmāst: According to Modi it is "performed in memory of women either living or dead" as an atonement for possible sins committed against the observance of the purity rules, especially during menstruations (Modi 1922a, p. 431). It can only be celebrated by the clergy and consists of twelve cycles (*kardā*) of twelve recitals in honour of different *Yazatas*. Two kinds of *Hōmāst* are mentioned by Modi, the great (*Moti*) *Hōmāst* consisting of the recital of one hundred and forty four *Yasnas* and one hundred and forty four *Vendidāds* and the small (*Nāni*) *Hōmāst* which consists of one hundred and forty four *Yasnas* and twelve *Vendidāds*. See Modi (1922a, p. 174 n. 1, and, for a general

description of the *Hōmāst*, pp. 431–33). In the *Rivāyats* the *Hōmāst* ceremony is described in detail as a ritual for the atonement of sins committed by menstruous women against the purity rules. See Dhabhar (1932, pp. 219–21). West (1880, p. 212 n. 5) presents a detailed description of the different kinds of *Hōmāst*, which he obtained from a Zoroastrian Mobad. According to this author the *Dwāzdah Hōmāst* consists of prayers recited for a total of two hundred and sixty four days in honour of twenty two *Yazatas*.

par. 4

yašt kard ēstēd ud gāhān srūd ēstēd: Seems to be a reference to the priestly initiation ceremonies, the *Nāvar* and the *Martab* for which see see Modi (1922a, pp. 199–209). However Dastur JamaspAsa, in a conversation which took place in January 1995 at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay, has acutely pointed out that a fully qualified priest should also know the *Vendidad*.

yašt-wāz: Alternatively this cmp. could be read *yašt-wāz* "celebrator of the *bāj*". However, the use of *yašt* together with *wāz* is not attested (See Boyce-Kotwal 1971, p. 58); moreover, the reading adopted here maintains the analogy with the first half of the sentence. For the *wāz/bāj* refer to Boyce-Kotwal (1971).

srūd-gāhān: The similar expression *hērbēd ī gāhān-srūd* is used in *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 79.7 to define a fully qualified priest (See Boyce-Kotwal 1971, p. 304).

par. 5

xwēdōdah: See chapter 5, par. 1.

par. 6

nō hazār sāl: For cosmic chronology refer to the well known passage in *Bundahišn* cb. 1 for which see *infra* cb. 7, par. 32. See also the fundamental and still current contributions by Nyberg (1929a, 1931a and 1931b) and Zaehner (1955, pp. 91–103 *et passim*).

par. 7

azdahāg: Av. *ažay-* *dahāka-* (*Yt* 5.29, 15.19, 19.46, 19.50, 19.92; *Y* 9.8; *V* 1.17; *AZ* 3). Also called, in the Pahlavi texts, *Bēwarāsp*. According to some texts *Dahāg* defeated *Jamšīd*, ruled the world for one thousand years, was, in his turn, defeated by *Frēdōn*, fettered on mount Demavand and finally, at the end of time definitively annihilated by *Keresāsp*. See Yarshater 1983a, pp. 426–27 *et*

passim and Christensen 1931b, pp. 31, 61ff., 101ff. *et passim*.

frāsyāb ī tūr: Av. *fraṣrasyan-* (*Yt* 5.41, 9.18, 9.22, 19.56, 19.57, 19.58, 19.77, 19.82, 19.92; *Y* 11.7). *Afrāsiyāb* played a central rôle in Iranian epics. He was the great fiend of the Kayanids and the symbol of the Turanian people. See Yarshater (1983a, pp. 440–43 *et passim*) and Christensen (1931b, pp. 85–92 *et passim*).

par. 9

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

padišxwārgar: This toponym and the possible but, in my opinion, not probable allusion to the revolt of the governor *Māzyār* have been discussed in detail by Gignoux (1986a, p. 340; 1986b, p. 61; 1987, pp. 362–64; 1988a, p. 74). See also ch. 7, par. 9.

par. 11

(*yeñhē hātām*): Already West (1880, p. 214 n. 3) had correctly identified the last paragraph of chapter five as a Pahlavi paraphrase of the Avestan prayer: *yeñhē hātām āi yesnē paii vanhō mazdā ahurō vaeθā ašāi hačā yāñhamčā tascā tāsčā yazamaidē* found in *Y* 27.15. On the Avestan Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions of this prayer see Humbach (1991, vol 2, p. 13–15). See also Dhabhar (1949, p. 123). This Avestan formula closes almost two thirds of the chapters of the *Yasna* and is also a closing formula for the recital of the *Yashts* (Boyce 1989b, p. 72 n. 55). For this reason some modern authors such as Sundermann (1989, p. 493), although with some reservations, have proposed that it should be considered as marking the end of the original text. However, we cannot exclude that the paraphrase of the *Yeñhē Hātām* is inserted here in the continuity of the text. We must consider that the narration does not seem to be in any way impaired and that even in Avestan texts this prayer does not always conclude a text. See also Tavadian (1956, p. 122). For a brief, but thorough description of the prayer *Yeñhē Hātām* in the modern Zoroastrian cult see Modi (1922a, p. 349).

The extreme complexity and artificiality of the language used in this passage is, in my opinion, due to its being the translation of the Avestan text of the *Yeñhē Hātām*. Quite clearly what we have here is based on a Pahlavi version enriched by various glosses and thus in part differing from the original. The great difference between the difficult language of this paragraph and the natural and straightforward language of the majority of the passages in *ZWY* shows how improbable it is that the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is simply a version of an ancient

Avestan text. In my opinion we are faced by a text whose original was composed in Middle Persian. Clearly this does not exclude the possibility that older material, descending from the ancient Mazdean mythologemas, has been preserved in our composition.

CHAPTER SIX

par. 1

See ch. 5, par. 1.

dēwān ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

par. 3

syā: "Black", the colour of the Abhasids see *supra*, ch. 4, par. 4.

sarmān dehān: From Av. *sairiṇam dahyunam* (Yt 13.143 and 13.145) I prefer this transcription also on account of the Greek *sarmes*. In mythology *Salm* is the first son of *Thraētaona*, and was the one who inherited the western region of the world, the one corresponding to the later Byzantine empire. In the *Bundahišn* we find the gloss *sarm deh ast hrōm* (Bd 14.37; TD1 43v, 9; TD2 106.15; DH 188v; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 134–35). In another passage of the *Bundahišn* (Bd 11a.6; TD1 35v.4; TD2 86.6, DH 182v.10; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 108–09) the spring of the Tigris is located in this area and the word is marked with diacritics to be read: *dēlamān*. It is quite interesting to note that the Zaza people, originally from *Dēlam*, live today, and lived probably as far back as the late Sasanian period in an area near the springs of the Tigris, and that even today their language is known as Dimili. We could then suppose some confusion brought about by the overlapping of two different toponyms that in Pahlavi are homographs.

**šēdāsp* <I> **kilīsāyīg*: Found also in *Dk* 7.8.47 (*DkM* 666.3, Molé 1967, p. 88–89) where we read: *št'sp'c Y kl's'yk hlwm'y*. See also Justi 1895, p. 294. It is difficult to identify this character. In Zoroastrian tradition the archetype of the western foes is, without doubt, Alexander the Great and this name may, with some doubt, be reconstructed in a passage of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* (ch. 3, par. 26). Similarly Darmesteter (1892–93, vol. 1, pp. 80–83 and 93, vol. 3, pp. xxxviii–xxxix) has identified Av. *kərəsānay-*, appearing in *Hom Yašt* (Y 9.24) with Alexander, and has discussed in detail the evolution, both philological and literary of this epithet. Widengren (1983, p. 116) proposes reading *Šētāspīh*

u Kirsyakīh and translating "Šētāspanhānger" and "Kirsyakanhānger" and relating the second term with OIr. **kərsyāka-* and Av. *kərəsa-* and *kərəsānay-*. Moreover, according to this author *kərəsa-* would be an appellative for the members of the ancient Männerbund. In the context of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* the most plausible proposal is that put forward by West (1897, p. 104 n. 4) who suggests identifying this character with a Byzantine emperor, such as Theodosius, who defeated the Persians some time between the fifth and the seventh century CE, a period which would, more or less, coincide with the end of Zoroaster's millennium.

māhwīndād: For the name of this commentator see ch. 2, par. 2.

rōšan: Name of a commentator mentioned various times in the *Vendidad*. according to Kapadia (1953, p. 329), he was the son of *Ādur Farrbay* who lived in the ninth century.

rasēd: Suggested by Anklesaria (1957, p. 45).

suxr kulāh ud suxr zēn ud suxr drafš bawēnd: According to Gignoux (1986a, p. 340; 1986b, p. 61) this is a reference to *Bābak Xorramī*'s revolt and to his followers dressed in red. According to the same author this would be further confirmed by the references to Mesopotamia, which would correspond to the geographical limits of their influence. However, in my opinion, few facts point to this direction. In the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* it is clearly stated that those with red banners were the *druz ī *šēdāsp* <I> **kilīsāyīg* and that they came from the *Sarmān dehān* and are *Hrōmāyīg*. The toponym *Sarmān dehān*, as we have seen, coincides with the Byzantine empire and so does, as is well known, *hrōmāyīg*. Clearly then, we are dealing with a western foe, quite possibly, as we have seen for *šēdāsp*, a Byzantine.

par. 4

**būm čandag*: See *supra*, ch. 4, par. 64.

tīr ud ohrmazd: The name *Tīr*, among the planets stands for Mercury, see further Panaino (1990). *Ohrmazd* stands for Jupiter. This is the first of the three astrological passages of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. As I have learnt from an oral communication from Prof. A. Panaino, whom I thank, these passages seem to bear no real astrological or astronomical significance.

par. 5

**šēdāsp* <I> **kilīsāyīg*: See ch. 6, par. 3.

drafš ī suxr: See ch. 6, par. 3.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

arang: Read *arwand* by West (1880, p. 216) and Anklesaria (1957, pp. 47 and 116), on the grounds of other occurrences in *ZWY*. Widengren correctly reads *arang* (1961, p. 199). Quite a common name for rivers, it is often used for the Tigris as noted by Markwart (1938 *passim*) and Eilers (1982, pp. 31 and 35f.) According to Boyce (1975a, p. 136), it has replaced, in Pahlavi texts, the Av. *Raṇhā* in representing one of the two border rivers of the Iranian dominions.

frāt rōd: Euphrates, cf. NP. *furā*. On the name of the Euphrates see Eilers (1982, pp. 30ff.)

*yōnān ī asūrestān-*manīšn*: Correctly read by West (1880, p. 216) and Widengren (1961, p. 199) it has been interpreted as "Düvân" by Anklesaria (1957, pp. 47 and 116). Clearly a reference to the Greeks (OP. *Yauna-*) who lived in Mesopotamia and/or Anatolia. The appellative *saxt āmār*: "hard to count", is both a reference to their number and to the fact that, especially in Hellenistic times, they lived in close contact with the local population. On the province of *Asūrestān* see Maricq-Honigmann (1953, pp. 41–43) and, recently, Pennacchietti (1988, p. 509). This passage seems quite ancient, probably from the Hellenistic period. "Greeks living in Mesopotamia/Anatolia" is a fitting description for those Hellenes who, having settled in the Near East after Alexander's campaigns, built mighty empires. Moreover, the use of the noun *yōnān* is quite striking. This term, though well attested both in Old and New Persian is practically unknown to Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian texts, where we can find only Pth. *ywn'w* "Greek (language)". The same is true for the Sasanian inscriptions where this term never appears. No corresponding Avestan word is known. From the available evidence it would seem that, during the Sasanian period, and in the Pahlavi books, terms like IMP. *hlwmy* (IPth. *prwm*) and Pahl. *hrōm*, *hrōmāyīg* had replaced in geographical and political contexts terms such as *yōnān*. However since NP. has *yunān* and Pth., as we have seen, *ywn'w* for the language, it is probable that *yōnān* was still used in the Sasanian period to refer to the people. However, both the choice of this word, and the very minor rôle played by "Greek" communities in Mesopotamia during Sasanian times, suggest, as already said, that this paragraph must derive from a more ancient source.

par. 6

dēwān ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

hēn ī frāx-anīg: "The army with the broad front", cf. Av. *haēnayā pərədu.ainikayā* (Yt 1.11, 4.3, 5.131; Y 9.18). A translation and discussion of this passage can be found in Bailey (1954, pp. 13–14). Notwithstanding the Pāzand evidence and the fact that this toponym is present in our text, I agree with Bailey's denial of the identification of *HWEt* as a corruption of *hywn*. Finally, I have preferred to leave *frāxēnīdār*: "who/which makes wide, spacious", out of the transcription. Cf. also Widengren (1983, pp. 115–16).

turk: See ch. 4, par. 58.

karmīr: See ch. 4, par. 58.

ul-drafs: See ch. 4, par. 6.

**šēdāsp ī *kilīšāyīg*: See ch. 6, par. 3.

par. 7

**ardīg ī wuzurg*: Worthy of mention, in this context, is the Qumran *War Rule* where it is said that the dark host will thrust back the sons of light three times. See further Boyce (1991, p. 427).

par. 8

kāūs: Or, possibly, *kāyūs* (cf. Av. *kavi-usan-* and NP. *kāus*). On this king of ancient Iran see Christensen (1931h, pp. 73ff.) and Markwart (1938, p. 135) who discusses the present passage.

par. 9

spēd razūr: Av. *spaēitita- razura-* (cf. *upa spaēititām razurām* Yt 15.31), the "white forest". See Gershevitch (1974, pp. 61f.). On the battle between *Arjāsp* and *Wištāsp* in Pahlavi sources see Gnoli (1967, pp. 38f. and 118f.), refer also to the passage from the fourth book of the *Dēnkard* translated *supra* (ch. 3, par. 25).

par. 10

turk: See ch. 4, par. 58.

**nīšānag*: Possibly to be identified with the famous battle site of *Nehāvand*. No variant spelling exists in the three MSS. Widengren translates "(Die Ebene) des Zeichens" (1961, p. 200), Anklesaria (1957, pp. 50 and 118) reads "Nihāvandak", West (1880, p. 218) "Nīšānag" and considers it an unknown place name. Gignoux (1986h, p. 61) identifies without hesitation the toponym *Nehāvand*.

ērān dehān: In my opinion here it is a reference to the people rather than to the lands. In the ancient Iranian context the two meanings were not clearly distinguished, cf. Av. *dahyav*-. See ch. 4, par. 6.

padišxwāgar: See *supra*, ch. 5, par. 9.

ādur gušnasp: See Pagliaro (1933) and ch. 7, par. 24.

war ī čēčast: Av. *čaēčasta*- (*Yt* 5.49, *S* 2.9, *Ny* 5.5). On the identification and on the geographical position of this lake see, among others, Markwart (1901, pp. 108 and 313; 1931, pp. 108 and 110), Jackson (1899, p. 197) and Geiger (1882, p. 129).

<*guft*>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 50).

māhīg, *karzang*: The second astrological passage. See ch. 6, par. 4.

**ādurōy*: Though written *'twlwk* it is better to read **ādurōy*, a personal name attested in glyptic (see Gignoux 1986c, p. 38). This name is not mentioned among Pahlavi commentators by de Menasce (1983, pp. 1171-72). The common noun *'twlwk*, referring to fire is often found in the *Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* (see de Menasce 1964 *passim*, Macuch 1981 pp. 63f. and 220f.; 1993 pp. 202, 211 *et passim*).

sūrāg-**mānišn ud kōf*-**mānišn ud daryā*-**mānišn*: Cf. the similar *sūrāg-mānišnān* in *WZad* 3.53 (Gignoux-Tafazzoli 1993, pp. 50-51).

par. 13

For the insertion of <*guft-iš ohrmazd kū, bīm ma dār spitāmān*>, see Anklesaria (1957, p. 52).

For <*ī dahom ī*> see Anklesaria (1957, p. 52).

CHAPTER SEVEN

par. 1

See ch. 5, par. 1.

par. 2

dēw ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

kust ī xwarāsān: See ch. 4, par. 4.

ušēdar ī zarduxštān: On the future arrival of *Ušēdar* compare the following passage from the *Bundahišn* (33.29, *TDI* 93r. 5-13; *DH* 223r.8-15 *pas pañjom hazārag ī ušēdarān bun bawēd*. *ušēdar ī zarduxštān pad dēn *nimūdārīh ud*

*rāst *paygāambarīh az ohrmazd āyēd. čiyōn zarduxšt āwurd ōy-iz dēn āwarēd* <*ud*> *rawāgēnēd. ud tangīh ud huškīh kāhēd, rādīh, ud āštīh ud a-kēnīh ud hamāg gēhān waxšīhēd. sē sāl ō urwarān zargōnīh dahēd. ud rōd vātaēni [ī] asp *zahā bē tazēd; ud *čašmīhā ud zrēh ī kayānsē abāz tazēd. dah rōz-šab xwaršēd pad bālist ī asmān be *ēstēd ud gurg-sardagān hamāg be abesīhēd*. "Then it will be the beginning of the fifth millennium, that of *Ušēdar*. *Ušēdar* son of *Zarduxšt* will come from *Ohrmazd* in religious guidance and true prophethood. As *Zarduxšt* had brought <*it*> so will he bring and propagate the religion. And distress and drought will decrease <while> liberality, peace, charity and the whole world will grow. For three years will he give greenness to the plants. And the river *Vātaēni* will flow horse-depth; the springs and lake *Kayānsē* will flow again. For ten days and nights the sun will stand at the highest <point> of the sky and all those of wolf sort will be destroyed". On the meaningful events of *Ušēdar*'s millennium see Kippenberg (1978, p. 54).

war ī frazdān: On this passage and in general on lake *Frazdān* and the rôle it played in Zoroastrian eschatology, see Gnoli (1967, pp. 37-38 *et passim*). Compare *Bd* 12.6-7 (*TDI* 37v.6-8; *DH* 184r.12-15)

<*būd*>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 53).

**zrēh* <*ī*> *kayānsē*: Av. *kašaoya*- (*Yt* 19.66, 19.92 etc.). On its geographical setting in *Sistān* and for its identification with lake *Hāmūn* see Gnoli (1967, pp. 10-30 *et passim*).

**kāwulistān*: On *Kāwul*, founded by *Ardaxšīr ī Spandiyādān* and on its "Indian" cultural traits, shared with neighbouring *Zāwul*, see Markwart (1901, pp. 266-68, 287 and 295-99; 1931, pp. 16, 83 and 89; 1938, p. 103).

par. 3

<*hād būd kē*>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 54).

čīnestān: See ch. 4, par. 58.

hindūgān: See ch. 4, par. 58.

par. 4

kay-ēw {hād pid ī ōy kay az kayān tōhmag}: From the following lines it is quite clear that *Wahrām ī Warzāwand* is meant. On this character see Christensen (1931b, pp. 37f., being a comment on *Bd* ch. 33, and pp. 156 and 158), Czeglédý (1958), Kippenberg (1978, pp. 67-68) and Cereti (forthcoming). According to Boyce (1984b p. 73 and note 113; 1987, p. 157) who mentions also the works of Czeglédý (1958) and Destree (1971), the historical figure of

Wahrām Čōbēn merges with the figure of the yazad *Wahrām*. However, the fact that the yazad is usually identified by the adjective *amāwand* while the historical character is regularly accompanied by the epithet *warzāwand*, points to a distinction between the two. See ch. 7, par. 28 and ch. 8 par. 1. According to Mas'udi (Barhier de Meynard 1861–76, vol. 2, p. 241), one of the sons of Yazdegard was called *Wahrām*. Perhaps traditions relating to the earlier two *Wahrāms* were attributed to this scion of the Sasanian dynasty by nationalistic propaganda after the death of Yazdegard.

ušēdar: See ch. 7, par. 2 and ch. 9, par. 1.

<ō>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 54).

hindūgān: See ch. 4, par. 58.

par. 5

wahrām ī warzāwand: See *supra*, ch. 7, par. 4 sub voce *kay-ēw*, and *infra* ch. 8, par. 1 sub voce *wistaxm*.

par. 6

stārag az asmān wārēd: "The stars will rain from the sky". The parallelism to the Christian tradition of the birth of Jesus Christ is evident. For a detailed discussion see Boyce (1991, pp. 448–53) who, however, argues that it "may well show the influence of common Hellenistic beliefs" (Boyce 1991, p. 453, n. 448).

dādohrmazd: See ch. 2, par. 2.

xwadāy zan-ēw bawēd: "a woman will be king". We know of three queens in Sasanian times. The first, *Dēnag*, wife of Yazdegard II, reigned during the dynastic wars which lasted from the death of her husband in 457 CE to the accession of *Pērōz* in 459 CE. The main evidence of her reign is a seal bearing the title *bāmbišnān bāmbišn* (Christensen 1944, pp. 289–90). It remains doubtful whether she actually did exercise power. Around 630 CE two sisters, daughters of *Xōsrōē* II, came to the throne. The first, *Bōrān*, reigned for about one year and four months, the second, *Āzarmēduxt*, only for a few months (Christensen 1944, pp. 498–99). It is probably to one of the latter two that the statement from ZWY refers. See Cereti (forthcoming). Interesting, in this context, is the tradition attributed by Al-Tahari to Sayf b. 'Umar, a Kufan traditionist accused of *zandaqah*, Manichaeism, belonging to the eighth century, which says that *Bōrān* is also known by the name *Šāh-e Zanān* (Blankinship 1993 tbl. I and II; for a critical evaluation of the (scanty) reliability of this traditionist see Blankinship 1993, pp. xv–xxix).

par. 7

ul-grift-drafs: See ch. 4, par. 4.

*hindūg ud *čīnūg*: See ch. 4, par. 58.

abrāstag drafs hēnd: Here we have the exact parallel to Av. *arədwō drafsa-* for which see *supra*, ch. 4, par. 4.

weh rōd: On the clear identification of the *Weh rōd* with the Amu Darya / Oxus see, among others, Markwart (1938, pp. 113–20 *et passim*).

kē būm-ēw deh guft: Probably a gloss to the preceding. In my opinion it should be interpreted as: "{Someone said that it was a land in some country (and not a river)}". Differently Anklesaria (1957, pp. 56 and 120) who reads "Būmē village", Widengren (1961, p. 201) "das Land Bumh", West (1880, p. 221) "the country Bombo". Several geographical names bear similarity to this name or to the alternative reading *bam-ēw / bamb* (K20). Among these are: *Bambus*, mentioned by Markwart (1901, pp. 318–19), located in the oasis of Khotan; *Wām-Kubād*, known also by the name of *Būm-Kubād* mentioned by Tahari and identifiable with Arrajān (Schwarz 1912, p. 112); and the well known province of *Bamm* for which see, among others, Schwarz (1912, pp. 236–39) and Markwart (1901, p. 181–87). However, none of these identifications can be taken with any certainty.

bahl ud bahlān: On the name Balx and its spelling in the Pahlavi texts see Markwart (1901, p. 87; 1931, p. 10). On the phonetic rendering of the name see MacKenzie *apud* Cereti (1994, p. 456, n. 35). West (1880, p. 221) proposed "Bukhar and the Bukharans", Anklesaria (1957, p. 120) reads "the interior shore of the sea Baharān", Widengren (1961, p. 201) "das Ufer von Buchāra". Consider also that we have evidence that the early Sasanian *Kūšānšāhs* had minted in Balx and that this toponym is written *baxlo* on their coins (Bivar 1983, p. 212). The graphy *b'l* is, in all probability, an error which, as usual in Pahlavi texts, has not been erased by the author.

Balxān, according to Markwart (1901, pp. 51, 55 and 214), was a town situated on the old bed of the Oxus river and, according to the same author, was the capital of the Kidārites, a stock of Iranian Huns descended from *Kidāra*, the king who gave his name to the dynasty. We now know, contrary to Markwart (1901, p. 55), that the Kidārites are not to be identified with a late branch of the Kushans.

par. 8

*ka stārag ī ohrmazd ul ō *bālist rasēd ud anāhūd rāy frōd abganēd*: This

is the third astrological passage in the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. According to Gignoux (1986b, p. 61) it should refer to the battle of *Nehāvand*. See ch. 6 par. 4.

par. 9

<guft>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 56).

war ī padīšxwārgar: On *padīšxwārgar* and the historical themes connected to this geographical area see *supra*, ch. 5, par. 9.

**harēw*: OP. *Haraiva-*; compare the very interesting description of *Arik'* by Moses Xorenac'i (Markwart 1901, pp. 138-40). Of particular interest, in our context, is the passage from the shorter recension where *Arik'* is equated with *k'usti-Xorasank'*.

tabarestān: On the early history of *Tabarestān* and on its substantial but by no means absolute identity with *Padīšxwārgar* see Markwart (1901, pp. 129-35).

par. 10

aburnāyag-ēw <> *anāstār*: The omission of *ī* after *-ēw* is not uncommon in Pahlavi texts. On contextual grounds this reading is to be preferred to the *xwāstār* proposed by Anklesaria (1957, p. 57) which, though grammatically not impossible, is not satisfying from a semantic standpoint. Widengren's (1961, p. 201) translation "gesuchte" would require emending this term to *xwāstag*. A possible reading **xandīdār*, which would recall the birth of *Zarduxšt* as represented, among others, in *Dēnkard* 7.3.2-3 (*DkM* 614.2-11, Molé 1967, pp. 27-28), would require the emendation of the text.

padīšxwārgar: See ch. 5, par. 9.

kurd-iz kirmān-iz: In this context it is interesting to note the passage of the *Fārs Nāme* where the Kurds are depicted as part of the Persian army which fought the Arabs, and it is narrated that they, all save one, died in the wars with Islam (Le Strange-Nicholson 1921, p. 168). In Pahlavi literature this same ethnic name is found in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, see Nöldeke (1878, p. 37). On the early history of the Kurds see Nikitine (1956, pp. 1-22) and Minorsky (1986). For an accurate assessment of the linguistic evidence on the origin of the Kurds see MacKenzie (1961). In general on Kerman in pre-Islamic times see Markwart (1901, pp. 30-31), on its being considered by Moses Xorenac'i as a part of *Arik'* see Markwart (1901, pp. 138 and 147). Worthy of note is also the mention, by Istakhri, of the Kermanis among the nomad peoples of *Fārs* (Istakhri *apud* Minorsky 1986, p. 450).

par. 11

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

**šēdāsp*: See ch. 6, par. 3.

hēn ī frāx-arīg: See *supra*, ch. 6, par. 6.

gurg ī dō zang: This expression refers to *dēws* or other demoniacal beings that live among mankind. In this passage, as shown by a parallel with other similar ones, it probably refers to the 'Arabs. Possibly this expression derives from Avestan, as suggested by the similar *vəhrka- čaθwarə-zangra-* found as *vəhrkō čaθwarə-zangrō* in *Vd* 18.38 and *N* 3, and also, in the genitive pl., in *Y* 9.18. Otherwise it could derive from a misinterpretation or a synthesis of the expression found in *Y* 9.18, in whose Pahlavi version we read: *mar-iz ī dō zang, ahlomōy-iz ī dō zang, gurg-iz ī čahār zang*. Widengren (1983, p. 114) relates this term to the Männerbund, studied, as is well known, by Wikander (1938).

par. 12

*pad *arang bār*: On the three battles, see ch. 6, par. 7-10. On *arang* see ch. 6, par. 5.

<*ēk pad*>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 58).

**spēd razūr*: The "White Forest" see *supra*, ch. 6, par. 9.

**nūšānag*: All MSS *dašt ī nūšānag*, see *supra*, ch. 6, par. 10.

par. 13

war ī sē-tōhmag: The "lake of the three seeds" or "lake of the three stocks". A reference to lake *Kayānsē* (for which see ch. 7, par. 2) where the seed of Zoroaster from which his three descendants are to be born is preserved. On *sē-tōhmag* we have a parallel in the first chapter of the *Vendīdād* where Av. (*rayam*) *θrizantūm* (*Vd* 1.15) is translated by Pahlavi (*rāy*) *sē-tōhmag* with the meaning either "of the three races" or "of the three castes" as explained in the gloss. For further details see Gnoli (1967, p. 67 and 1980, pp. 24-25).

marw ī šēdān: "Marw of the bright ones". Possible simplification of *marw ī zarduxštān* for which see Markwart (1931, p. 45). This same expression is used in the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* ch. 19, see Monchi-Zadeh (1981, pp. 16 and 32). Compare also *Vd* 1.5 where we find Av. *mōurum sūram ašavanam*, for which see Christensen (1943, pp. 13-15).

par. 14

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

abrāstag-drafs̄: See ch. 7, par. 6.

drafs̄ ī **babr pōst*: Clear reference to the *drafs̄* ī *kayān* for which see, among others, Christensen (1944, pp. 502-04).

wād-drafs̄ <I> **bandag* <I> *spēd*: The slight emendations are necessary for the comprehension of the text. For *bandag* cf. NP. *bandak*. The first to find the correct interpretation was West (1880, p. 223) who, not without warning, translates: "and their wind banner is of white cotton", Widengren (1961, p. 202) proposes: "ganz weiße Fahnen". Anklesaria (1957, p. 121) suggests relating this word to NP. *bandōg*: "crossbow", "musket" and translates: "muskets". The context, however, would refute Anklesaria's proposal. I do not share Gignoux's tentative identification of those bearing white flags with the movement of *al Moqanna'* (Gignoux 1986h, p. 62).

par. 17

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 18

xēšm ī **xurdruš*: See ch. 4, par. 26 and ch. 8, par. 2.

par. 19

nēryōsang yazad ud srōš ahlaw: These two divinities are described as companions of Mithra in *Yt* 10.52. See also Kreyenbroek (1985, pp. 130-32 and 176-78).

kangdiz ī *syāwaxš* ī *bāmīg kard*: One of the legendary capitals of *Xwanirah*. The same expression is found in *Bd* 32.5, (Anklesaria 1956, pp. 268-71; TD1 89r.12-13, DH 220r.14-15). On the relation of the hero *Pišōtan* with this city see Boyce (1984b, pp. 61ff.) and Widengren (1983, p. 106).

čihromēhan ī *wištāspān*: See ch. 3, par. 2.

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

<pad>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 61).

ātaxš <ud> *ābān*: On the importance of the *Dwāzdah-Hōmāst* for the atonement of sins against the rules on purity, particularly those committed against the holy elements, see the bibliography mentioned in ch. 5 par. 3. For this ritual recited in honour of *Ābān* refer to Dhabhar (1932, p. 221). On the *Hādōxt Nask* see ch. 7, par. 22. In general on the offerings to fire and waters see Boyce (1966) On the *ātaxš-zōhr* celebrated in honour of Mithra see Boyce (1966,

p. 107), for the sacrifice of the bull *Hadayōš* performed by *Sošāns* at the end of time see Boyce (1966, p. 109; 1975a, p. 244). For textual references see Gignoux-Tafazzoli (1993, p. 178).

hādōxt ud dwāzdah hōmāst: See ch. 5, par. 3 and ch. 7, par. 21.

par. 20

According to Widengren (1983, pp. 105-12) parts of paragraphs 20, 22-23, 26, 28-37, 39 of chapter seven, of paragraphs 1, 6-7 of chapter eight and of paragraph 11 of chapter nine make up the "Pišyōtan-Fragmenten".

nēryōsang, srōš: See ch. 7, par. 19.

čagād ī *dāyit*: The summit of the *Harā*. See Boyce (1975a, p. 137), Gnoli (1989, pp. 40-43, containing a selection of older bibliography), and, recently, Tafazzoli (1990a). On this passage see also Widengren (1983, p. 106) where it is suggested that this expression means "der Gipfel des Daitik", the *dāyit* being none other than the Av. *Vaṇuhī Dāityā*, see also Cereti (1994, p. 454, n.24). See further ch. 4, par. 27.

kangdiz: See ch. 7, par. 19.

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

čihromēhan ī *wištāspān*: See ch. 3, par. 2.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

abāz-wirāy gāh ī *dēn ud xwadāyih*: It is better to interpret "status", "natural rôle", "correct place" than "throne". A parallel can be found in the title of the book which contained the description of the various rôles and places in the Sasanian court: the *Gāh-nāmag*. See also Tafazzoli (1988, pp. 105-06).

par. 21

dwāzdah-hōmāst: See *supra* ch. 5, par. 3. Worthy of note is the use of the enclitic pronoun, for which refer to the Introduction and to Cereti 1993. For the *dwāzdah hōmāst* ī *pad zōhr* see Boyce (1966, p. 102).

par. 22

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

humat, ud hūxt, ud huwaršt: Four steps are needed to ascend to Heaven, the first three are on *humat*, *hūxt* and *huwaršt*. Compare the following passage in the *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (2.145-147): *pas fradom gām pad humat ud dudīgar pad hūxt ud sidīgar pad huwaršt abar āxrāmēd ud čahōrom gām be ō ān ī asar rōšnīh ī hamāg xwārīh abar rasēd u-š hāmāyēn yazadān ud amahraspandān*

ō padīrag āyēnd "Then he will stride upwards with the first step on good thought, the second on good speech, the third on good deed, and <with> the fourth he will reach infinite light of all bliss. All gods and Amahraspand will come to meet him". On the well known and fundamental triad of Zoroastrian ethics: good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, see, among others, Modi (1922a, pp. 77, 228, 235, 297, 311, 400 and 595) and, more recently, Schlerath (1973).

hādōxt ud bayān yasn: For a description of the *Bayān nask* as known to Pahlavi commentators see the eighth book of the *Dēnkard* (DkM 692.15–693.2). Nowadays only Y 19–21, being a commentary of the *Yaθā Ahū Vairyō*, *Ašəm Vohū* and *Yējhē Hātqm* prayers, and Yt 5–19 are left (Kellens 1989, pp. 37–39). The *Hādōxt nask* is described at greater length in the eighth book of the *Dēnkard* (DkM 784.16–786.10). Unfortunately the only existing texts which can be attributed to this *nask* are Y 58, praising the "prayer", Yt 11, the *Āfrīn ī Zarduxšt* and the fragments which go under the name of *Hādōxt nask* (Kellens 1989, pp. 37–39; the text of the two fragments is edited by Haug in Haug–West 1872, pp. 267–316).

<pad>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 62).

*ātaxš *ud ābān*: see ch. 7, par. 19.

par. 24

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

xwarrahōmand: See dox.

rōšn kirb: Compare the following passage from the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* (TD1 5r3–7, DH 162r.21–162v.2; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 14–15): *ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš xwadīh, az gētīg rōšnīh, kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš frāz brēhēnīd pad ātaxš kirb ī rōšn ī spēd ud gird ud frāz paydāg. az gētīg ī ān mēnōg kē petyārag ī andar har dō dām aziš bē burd*: "Ohrmazd fashioned forth from his own essence, from material light, the forms of his own creatures, in the form of fire, bright, white, round and manifest from far. From the material <form> of that spirit which carries the evil in both creations away from them" (MK).

dād-gāh: See ch. 4 par. 7.

ādur farrbay: On this and the other sacred fires mentioned in par. 26 see Pagliaro (1933), Duchesne–Guillemin (1962, pp. 77–95) and Boyce (1985a, 1985b, 1985c and 1989a).

yazišn: See ch. 4, par. 31.

barsom: See ch. 4, par. 30.

hordād ud amurdād: The two divine entities that, according to Dumézil, represent the third function in the Zoroastrian pantheon. On their rôle and, more generally, on that of the *Amahraspands* in Zoroastrianism see, among others, Boyce (1975a, pp. 192–228) and Duchesne–Guillemin (1962, pp. 193–207, particularly 197–98).

nērang ud nērangestān: The term *Nērang* may refer to a number of prayer-formulas or incantations a list of which is found, among others, in *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*. See Unvālā (1922, vol. 1, pp. 283f., vol. 2, pp. 272–82). Moreover, it is the technical expression to indicate ritual prescriptions in Pahlavi in the Avestan texts, in this connotation it is found especially in MSS of Persian origin (Geldner 1896–1904, p. 10), *Nērangestān* is the Avestan and Pahlavi text that describes the purification rituals. On these religious terms see also Modi (1922a, in particular for the *Nērang* as *Gōmēz* see pp. 66f. and 253f.). On the *Nērangestān* see Sanjana 1894, Gershevitch (1968, pp. 26–27), Bulsara (1915), Waag (1941) and Kotwal–Boyd 1980. A new edition by Kotwal and Kreyenbroek has been announced.

par. 26

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

ādur farrbay ud ādur gušnasp ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr: On the different fires see ch. 7, par. 24.

**uzdēszār*: On *uzdēszār* and *uzdēs-xadag* as expressions of the cult of idols opposed to the religion of fire see, among others, Boyce (1975b, p. 96).

xēšm ī xurdruš: See ch. 4, par. 26 and ch. 8, par. 2.

par. 27

hukaiyāt: Av. *hukaiya*– The form found in our text renders the Av. ablative form in *-āt* as found in Y 65.3 and Yt 5.25. On this mountain, the highest peak of the *Harā*, known also as *Taēra/Tērag* and as *Čagād ī dāyī* see Gnoli (1980 p. 148) and MacKenzie (1964, p. 517–19).

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

par. 28

This entire passage has been translated and discussed by Kreyenbroek (1985, pp. 137–38).

mīhr ī frāx-gōyōd: Av. *miθra- vouru.gaoyaoitay-* (*miθra vouru.gaoyaoite* in

Yt 10.42 etc.): "Mihr of the wide pastures". On the character of Mithra in the Avesta see, among others, Gershevitch (1959).

srōš, rašn, wahrām, aštād, xwarrah ī dēn: *Srōš, Rašn* and *Aštād* are often found together in the Avesta (Y 1.7, 2.7, 3.9, 4.12, 6.6, 7.9, 17.6, 22.9). On all three see Gray (1929, pp. 99–101, 106–10 and 136–37). On *Aštād* see also Gnoli 1987. For a relatively recent discussion on the character of *Srōš* throughout Zoroastrian tradition, complete with a collection of sources, see Kreyenbroek (1985). On *xwarrah* in general see Gray (1929, pp. 120–23). On *xwarrah ī dēn*, whose astronomical seat was identified with the Milky Way, see Henning (1942, pp. 240–41). Here *Wahrām* is the *yazad* and not the apocalyptic hero, as emerges quite clearly from the following passage of the *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag* where the same group of divine entities is mentioned in connection with the crossing of the Činwad bridge: (AWN 5.1–3) *pas ān činwad puhl nō nēzag pahnāy abāz bād. man pad abāgīh ī srōš ahlaw ud ādur yazad pad činwad puhl xwārīhā ud frāxīhā ud nēw-dilērīhā ud pērōzgarīhā be widard hēm <pad> was pānāgīh ī mihr yazad ud rašn ī rēstag ud way ī weh ud wahrām yazad <ī> amāwand ud aštād yazad <ī> freh-dādār ī gēhān ud xwarrah ī dēn ī weh ī māzdēsnañ. ud frawahr ī ahlawān ud abāgīg mēnōgān ō man ardā wīrāz naxust nomāz burd hēnd. u-m dīd man ardā wīrāz rašn ī rāst kē tarāzūg ī zard ī zarrēn pad dast dāst ud ahlawān ud druwandān handāzīd*: "Then the Činwad bridge was again nine lances <in> width. I have crossed the Činwad bridge blissfully, spaciouly, bravely and victoriously, in company of the holy *Srōš* and the *Yazad Ādur* <and under> the substantial protection of the *Yazad Mihr*, the very true *Rašn*, the Good Way, the powerful *Yazad Wahrām*, the *Yazad Aštād*, hounteous to the world, and the *Xwarrah* of the good Mazdean religion. First the *frawahrs* of the righteous ones and the other spirits paid homage to me, *Ardā Wīrāz*. And I, *Ardā Wīrāz*, saw the true *Rašn* who held golden yellow scales in his hand and judged righteous and unrighteous ones". On the *yazad Wahrām* see also Kippenberg (1978, pp. 68–69). On Mithra's companions as listed in the *Mithra Yašt* see Gershevitch (1959, pp. 58–61).

par. 29

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

par. 31

mihr: On the ancient function of *Mihr* as guardian of contracts, see Gershevitch (1959, pp. 26–35). See further ch. 7, par. 28. On *Mihr* as a judge

see Shaked (1980). On the presence of mediating characters who witness the agreement between *Ohrmazd* and *Ahriman* see Shaked (1980; 1994, pp. 16 and 23).

par. 32

mihr: See ch. 7, par. 28.

nō hazār sāl pašt: The "contract of the nine thousand years". Described in detail in the following passage from the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* (TD1 3r.5–3v.10; DH 161r.11–161v.6; Westergaard 1851, pp. 4.5–5.6; cf. Anklesaria 1956, pp. 8–11):

25. *pas ohrmazd pad harwisp-āgāhīh dānist kū: agar zamān ī kārēzār-īš nē daham ēg-īš tuwān kardan pad dām ī man čiyōn padist abar barēd ud kōxšīšn ud gumēzišn [ī] hamē'thā, u-š andar gumēzišn dām wiyābānēnīdan ud ō xwēš kardan tuwān, čiyōn nūn-iz mardōm andar gumēzišn was hēnd kē abārōnūh wēš warzēnd kū frārōnūh {kū kāmāg ī gannāg mēnōg wēš hamē warzēnd}*.

26. *u-š guft ohrmazd ō gannōg mēnōg kū: zamān *kun tā kārēzār pad ēn pašn tā nō hazār sāl frāz *abganēm, čē-š dānist kū pad ēn zamān kardan *agārēnēd gannāg mēnōg*.

27. *ēg gannāg mēnōg awēnōg-frazāmīh rāy pad ān paymānog ham-dādestān būd ēdōn čiyōn dō mard <ī> ham-kōxšīšn zamān frāz kunēnd kū-mān wāhmān rōz tā šab kārēzār *kunēm*.

28. *ohrmazd ēn-iz pad harwisp-āgāhīh dānist kū andar ēn nō hazār sāl, sē hazār sāl hamē kāmāg ī ohrmazd rawēd, sē hazār sāl andar gumēzišn kāmāg ī ohrmazd ud ahreman har dō rawēd ud sē hazār sāl abdom ardig gannōg mēnōg agār šāyēd kardan <ud> az dām petyāragīh abar dārēd*.

29. *pas ohrmazd ahunawar frāz srūd {kū-š yatā ahū wairyō-ēw, wīst <ud> ēk mārīg be guft}. u-š frazām pērōzīh ī xwēš ud agārīh ī gannōg mēnōg ud abesīhīšn ī dēwān ud *ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn ud *apetyāragīh ī dāmān tā hamē-ud-hamē-rawīšnīh be ō gannāg mēnōg nimūd*.

30. *gannāg mēnōg ka-š agārīh ī xwēš ud abesīhīšn ī dēwān hāmīst dīd stard ud abōy būd <ud> abāz ō tom ōbast*.

25. Then *Ohrmazd* in <his> omniscience knew that, "If I do not set a time for the battle with him then he will be able to do to my creatures as he has vowed, and the struggle and the Mixture <will be> eternal, and during the Mixture he will be able to mislead the creatures and to make them his own. As even now, during the Mixture, there are many men who do more evil than good

{who carry out the will of *Gannāg Mēnōg* more}”.

26. And *Ohrmazd* said to *Gannāg Mēnōg*, “Set a time, so that we may put off the battle by this agreement until nine thousand years”. For he knew that by this setting of a time he would <finally> render *Gannāg Mēnōg* powerless.

27. Then *Gannāg Mēnōg*, because of <his> inability to foresee the end, agreed to that measure; just as two men in strife set forth a time <saying>, “Let us do battle on such-and-such a day, until night.”

28. *Ohrmazd* in <his> omniscience knew this also that, during those nine thousand years, for three thousands years the will of *Ohrmazd* would always be current, and for three thousand years during the Mixture the wills of *Ohrmazd* and *Ahremen* both would be current, and for three thousands years, <in> the final battle, it would be possible to render *Gannāg Mēnōg* powerless and he (i.e. *Ohrmazd*) would hold off the opposition from his creatures.

29. Then *Ohrmazd* recited the *Ahunawar*. {That is, he uttered a *yatā ahū wairyō*, twenty one words}. And he showed *Gannāg Mēnōg* his own final victoriousness, and the impotence of *Gannāg Mēnōg*, the destruction of the *dēws*, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Final Body, and the freedom from opposition of the creatures for ever and ever.

30. And *Gannāg Mēnōg* when he saw his own impotence together with the destruction of the *dēws*, he became stupefied and unconscious <and> fell back into the darkness (MK). See also ch. 5, par. 6.

dahāg ī dujḏēn: See ch. 5 par. 7.

frāsyāb ī tūr: See ch. 5 par. 7.

aleksandar ī hrōmāyīg: Here a reference to the historical Alexander, with the more common epithet of *hrōmāyīg* instead of the rare *kilsāyīg*.

dēwān ī wizārd-wars: See ch. 1, par. 11.

According to West (1880, p. 228 n. 4) from this passage in *ZWY* we can gather that the rule of the evil ones was to last, according to the author of the *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, until almost to the end of *Ušēdar*’s millennium, that is about the period between 1593 and 1635, dates that correspond, more or less, to the reign of *Šāh Abbās*.

par. 34

mīhr: See ch. 7, par. 28.

*xēšm ī *xurdruš*: See ch. 4, par. 26 and ch. 8, par. 2.

par. 36

mīhr: See ch. 7, par. 28.

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

uzdēszār: See ch. 7, par. 26.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

gāh: See, ch. 7, par. 20.

par. 37

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

ādur ī farrbay, ud ādur ī gušnasp, ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr: On the different fires see ch. 7, par. 24.

uzdēszār: See ch. 7, par. 26.

yazišn: See ch. 4, par. 31.

barsom: See ch. 4, par. 30.

dwāzdah-hōmāst: See ch. 5, par. 3.

par. 39

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

arang: See ch. 6, par. 5.

weh: See ch. 7, par. 7.

CHAPTER EIGHT

par. 1

wahrām ī warzāwand: See *supra*, ch. 7, par. 4 *sub voce* *kay-ēw*, and *infra* ch. 8, par. 1 *sub voce* *wistaxm*.

wistaxm: This character appears in the *Šāh-nōme* as the *Dastūr* of *Bahrām Gōr*. See Justi (1895, p. 371): “Gustehem, Adlicher zur Zeit Yezdegerds I, Dastūr (Wezīr) des Bahrām Gōr” and Wolff (1935, p. 710) “*Gustahm* (*Gustahm*) EN, edler Iranier, *Dastūr* des *Bahrām Gōr*”. The meter suggests the reading *Gustahm*. The following is the relevant passage in the *Šāh-nōme*: *pas āgāhīh āmad ba-bahrāmšāh -- ki āmad zi čīn andar ērān sipāh -- jahāndār Gustahm rā pēš x’ānd -- zi xāqān-i čīn čānd bā ō berānd -- kujā pahlawān būd u dastūr būd*. (Bertel’s 1968, p. 387, vv. 1444–46) “Then awareness came unto *šāh Bahrām* that an army had come from *Čīn* to *Ērān*. The emperor called for *Gustahm*”

<and asked him> about the *Xāqān* of Čīn: 'How many <men> travel with him'. He was a hero and a *Dastūr*'. For the use of *kujā* as a relative pronoun see Wolff (1935, p. 633). This interpretation is further strengthened by the variant *ki ō* found in the MS C 882 datable approximately to the 15th century and marked "VI" in the Moscow edition of the *Šāh-nāme* (Bertel's 1960, p. 15). The translation of the whole passage is not entirely clear. My version is based on the reading *gāh ī wizurd ī rāst ī dēn gumārd*. Thus *wizurd* should mean: "established", "explained". West (1880, p. 229) translates: "fixes upon Vandid-khīm ("a curbed temper"), and having intrusted him with the seat of mobadship of the mohads, and the seat of true explanation of the religion...". Anklesaria (1957, p. 125): "he will (...) appoint Vandiḥ-hīm to the rank of primacy and having settled the adjudged and true position of religion ...". However, the same author has transcribed this name as *Vīdaḥ-hīm* (Anklesaria 1957, p. 69). Widengren (1961, p. 205): "Und jener Siegreiche, mit dem Thron des Obermohads und dem Thron der richtigen Entscheidung der Religion beauftragte...". The identification of *Wistaxm* as Dastur of *Wahrām Gōr* is important both for the dating of the text and for the identification of the constituting elements of *Wahrām ī Warzāwand*. This character presents traits borrowed from both *Wahrām Čōbēn* and *Wahrām Gōr*. See Cereti (forthcoming). In general on the *mawbedān mawbed* see Christensen (1944, pp. 118-19 and 519-23).

ērān dehān: See ch. 4, par. 6.

par. 2

ud āz, ud niyāz, ud kēn, ud xēšm, ud waran, ud arešk, ud druwandīh: For these nouns, with the exception of *kēn* and *druwandīh*, as names of demons, see Gray (1929, pp. 202, 212, 185-7, 216 and 200 respectively), For *Xēšm* and *Āz* see also Asmussen (1985 and 1989). On *Xēšm* see also ch. 4, par. 26. On *Āz* see also ch. 4, par. 25. In general on demonology see Christensen (1941, esp. pp. 47-59) and Asmussen (1974). On the characteristics of these demons compare the following passage from the *Ayādgar ī Wuzurgmīhr* (JamaspAsana 1913, pp. 89.9-90.2): *kadār ud čand ān druz? āz ud niyāz ud xēšm ud arešk ud nang ud waran ud kēn ud būšāsp ud druz <ī> ahlomāyīh ud spazgīh. az ēn and druz kadār stahmagtar. āz ahunsandtar <ud> āzāragtar. niyāz bēšēnūdārtar ud bēšōmandtar. ud *xēšm dušpādixšātar ud anespāstar. arešk anāg-kāmagtar ud wad-ummēdtar. ud nang kōxšīdārtar. ud waran xwad-dōšagtar ud wišuftārtar. ud kēn sahmīgēntar ud an-abaxšāyīšnīgtar. būšāsp aḡgahāntar ud*

**framāšēnūdār ud druz ī ahlomōyīh niḥuftārtar ud *frēftārtar ud spazgīh anespāstar*: "Who and how many are those demons? Greed, Need, Wrath, Envy, Shame, Desire, Hate, Sloth, and the demons of Heresy and Slander. Among these many demons, which is the most oppressive? Greed is the most dissatisfied and the most tormenting. Need is the most injuring and the most sorrowful. Wrath is the most evil of rulers and the most ungrateful. Envy is the most ill-willed and the worst of hopes. And Shame is the most lethal. Desire is the most self-indulgent and the most disturbing. And Hate is the most terrible and the most unforgiving. Sloth is the most indolent and the <most> forgetful. And the demon of Heresy is the most concealed and the most deceiving. And Slander is the most ungrateful".

par. 3

Gignoux has remarked the possible parallel with Isaiah 11.6 (Gignoux 1987, p. 363).

par. 4

ādur ī farrbay, ud ādur ī gušnasp, ud ādur ī burzēnmīhr: On the sacred fires see *supra* ch. 7, par. 24.

par. 6

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

xwarrah: See ch. 7, par. 28.

gāh: See ch. 7, par. 20.

par. 7

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

taxt-gāh: See ch. 7, par. 20.

par. 8

**ušēdarān*: See *infra*, ch. 9, par. 1.

CHAPTER NINE

par. 1

**ušēdar*: Av. *uxšayaī arata-*. The first of the "saviours" born from the seed of

Zoroaster. According to the legendary narration he will be born from a virgin maiden that will be made pregnant by Zoroaster's seed deposited in lake *Kayānsē*. For a description of the future arrival of the three "saviours" see *Dk* 7.1.42-54 (Molé 1967, pp. 12-13; *DkM* 599.13-600.20). On the events which will immediately precede the arrival of *Ušēdar* see *Dk* 7.8 (Molé 1967, pp. 80-91; *DkM* 657.19-668.6). On the calamities which will occur in *Ērānšahr* at the end of each millennium see *Bd* ch. 33 (Anklesaria 1956, pp. 272-83; TD1 90r.2-94r.11; DH 220v.16-224r.2). For a discussion of the historical development of the concept of the *Saošyant* see Boyce (1984b, pp. 67ff. and p. 68, n. 80 for a bibliography relative to *Ušēdar*). See also ch. 7, par. 2.

ēk hazār: DH *ēk hazār ud hašt sad sāl*, K20 *ēk hazār ud šaš sad sāl*. This different dating can have two explanations: either it is due to calculations relative to the two different chronological systems which were known in the Sasanian epoch, or to the different periods in which the two manuscripts were copied. This second hypothesis seems to me more probable. If this is the case, then the scribe of DH has added two hundred years, because according to Zoroastrian calculations, the year one thousand and eight hundred of Zoroaster was nearing, and the auspicious arrival of *Ušēdar* had not yet taken place. K20, as we have seen in the Introduction, can be dated to the second half of the 14th century CE, while DH belongs to approximately two centuries later, i.e. to the second half of the 16th century. Similarly the *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* places the birth of *Ušēdar* in the year fifteen hundred (PR 48.1). See also Williams (1990, vol. 2, p. 228) and Kippenberg (1978, p. 57).

ham-pursagīh: For the seven conversations of Zarduxšt with Ohrmazd see *Dk* 7.4.1 and 7.4.65 (Molé 1967, pp. 42-43 and 54-55; *DkM* 626.1-5 and 637.13-17) and the PR 47.2 (Williams 1990, vol. 1, p. 169, vol. 2, pp. 76 and 212-14). For the conversations with Ohrmazd before the birth of Zarduxšt see *Dk* 7.1.8 and 7.1.10 (Molé 1967, pp. 4-5 and 6-7; *DkM* 529.13-20 and 595.3-10). For a sequence of the principal events in Zarduxšt's life compare the following passage (*Dk* 7.5.1, Molé 1967, pp. 62-63; *DkM* 644.1-5; B 334.1-4): *abar abdih ī paidāgīhist az padīrftan [frāz] ī wištāsp <i> dēn tā wihēz <i> yašt frawahr zarduxšt ō ān pahlom axwān ka uzīd ēstād <kū> *az zāyīšnīh frāz *haftād ud haft (MS 57) sāl ud az ham-pursagīh frāz čehel ud haft <sāl> az padīrftan ī wištāsp <i> dēn frāz sth ud panj sāl* "About the wonders appearing between the acceptance of the religion by *Wištāsp* and the transferral of *Zarduxšt* of the worshipped *frawahr* to the better existence when he died, seventy seven years after the birth, forty seven years after the conversation, thirty

five years after the acceptance of the religion by *Wištāsp*".

par. 2

xwaršēd <i> arwandāsp: Av. *hvarə.xšaēta- aurvaṭ.aspa-*: "the splendid sun with quick horses". Cf. *Yt* 12.34 *hvarə.xšaētəm aurvaṭ.aspəm*. See also Gray (1929, pp. 85-87). For the movement of the sun as described in the *Bundahišn* see MacKenzie (1964, pp. 517-19). For astronomical ideas in the *Bundahišn* see also Henning (1942, pp. 229-35).

par. 3

xwaršēd: See ch. 9, par. 2.

dah rōz-šabān: Similarly the sun halts in the sky twenty days for *Ušēdarmāh* and thirty days for *Sōšāns*. Compare also *Dk* 7.9.2, (Molé 1967, pp. 92-93; *DkM* 668.10-11; B 313.19-20): *abdih ī ušēdar pad zāyīšn: tan <ud> xwarrah ud saxwan ud kār. ēstišn ī xwaršēd dah rōz <pad> mayān <i> asmān*. "The wonders of *Ušēdar* upon <his> birth: body, *xwarrah*, words and actions. The standing <still> of the sun for ten days <in> the middle <of> the sky". See also ch. 7, par. 2.

par. 5

mīhr: See ch. 7, par. 28.

**ušēdar*: See ch. 9, par. 1.

xwaršēd: See ch. 9, par. 2.

arzah: In this passage MSS DH and K20 present different texts. DH reads: *arzah ud *wōrūbaršt ud *wōrūjaršt ud nēm<-ēw> ī xwanirah <i> bāmīg*, while K20 has: *arzah <ud> sawah <ud> fradadafš <ud> wīdadafš ud *wōrūbaršt ud wōrūjaršt ud xwanirah <i> bāmīg*. Thus the former says that half of the world was in darkness, while the latter says the same of the whole world. I have chosen to follow DH because it concords with the classical Zoroastrian doctrine, according to which the sun rotates around Mount *Hugar* (on which see MacKenzie 1964, pp. 517-19 and Boyce, 1975a, pp. 134ff.). MS *Bk* of the Persian version of *ZWY* provides us with yet another list of continents (Dhabhar 1932, p. 470 and n. 11): *arzah va šawah (sic) va fradadafš va vidadafš va vorobarāst va virozarst*. The Avestan names of these continents are respectively: *arəzahī-*, *savahī-*, *fradaḍafšū-*, *vidaḍafšū-*, *vouru.barəštī-*, *vouru.jarəštī-*, *xʼaniraθa-*. The most detailed description of the continents in Pahlavi literature is contained in chapter eight of the *Bundahišn* (Anklesaria 1956, pp. 90-93; TD1 30r.6-30v.15;

DH 179r.2-179v.2). Compare also, for the alternation of day and night *Bd* 5b, 7-11 which, in MacKenzie's translation, reads as follows: "(7) From where the sun rises (*abar āyēd*) on the longest day (*rōz ī mahist*) to (where) it rises on the shortest day (*rōz ī keh/kahist*) is the east (*xwarāsān*), the continent of Arzah. (8) From where it rises on the shortest day to (where) it goes out (*bē šawēd*) on the shortest day is the direction of the south (*nēmrōz*), the continents of Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh. (9) From where it goes down (*andar šawēd*) on the shortest day to (where) it goes down on the longest day is the west (*xwarōfrān*), the continent of Savah. (10) From where it rises (*abar āyēd*) on the longest day to where it goes down on the longest day is the direction of the north (*abāxtar*), the continents of Vorubarsh and Vorujarsht. (11) When the sun rises it shines on the continents of Arzah and Fradadafsh and Vidadafsh and half of Khwaniras. When it goes down on that side of Terag it shines on the continents of Savah and Vorubarsh and Vorujarsht and half of Khvaniras, When it is day here it is night there, for night is manifested on account of the mountain Terag". (MacKenzie 1964, pp. 518-19; the reading *abar āyēd* for *andar āyēd* in par. 10 is a correction of Prof. MacKenzie himself, so is "rises" for "coming up"; TD1 22v.12-23r.6; DH 174r.8-174r.16).

par. 6

*ušēdar: See ch. 7, par. 2 and ch. 9, par. 1.

xwaršēd: See ch. 9, par. 2.

par. 7

xwaršēd: See ch. 9, par. 2.

par. 9

pišōtan ī wištāspān: See ch. 3, par. 2.

par. 10

turk: See ch. 4, par. 58.

par. 11

ušēdarmāh: Av. *uxšaya namah*-. The second of the "saviours" born from the seed of Zoroaster. See Kippenberg (1978, pp. 54-55). See further under *Ušēdar*, ch. 9, par. 1.

pišōtan: See ch. 3, par. 2.

par. 12

Compare *Dk* 7.11.4 (Molé 1967, pp. 102-03; *DkM* 675.13-17; *B* 306.5-306.9) *ud ēn-iz kū andar *haftād ud haft (MS 57) sāl <I> ōy bawēd: *abesihišn ī dō-zang-tōhmag ud abārīg družih, ud ānābišn ī wēmārth, ud zarmārth, <ud> margih, ud bēš, ud hāmist anāgih, <ud> sāsārth, ud ahlomōyih, ud wattarīh <I> bawēd. hamēšag urwar zargōn waxših ud *hamāg dahišn urwāhman[th] bawēnd*. "And this is what happened in his seventy seven years: the destruction of the stock of two-legged <wolves> and of the other demons, the avoidance of illness, old age, death, pain, and of all evils, tyrannies, heresies, wickedness which exist. The vegetation will always grow green and all the creatures will be joyful".

*ušēdarmāhān: See ch. 9, par. 11.

par. 13

*dās*r ī ēwēnagih*: For *dās*r* as spiritual dowry or *viaticum* set aside by men in material life see *Vd* 19.27 (Cf. Jamasp 1907, pp. 627-28 and Geldner 1896, pt. 3, pp. 127-8): *dātarə gaēðanəm astvaitinəm ašāum. kva tā dāðra bavainti kva tā dāðra pārayeinti kva tā dāðra pairi.bavainti. kva tā dāðra paiti-hanjasanti mašyō astvainti anhvō havāi urune para.daišyāf. dādār kū awēšān dās*r bawēnd pad mehmānīh kū awēšān dās*r be rawēnd kū-šān āyīšn ud šawišn kū gyāg kū awēšān dās*r abar bawēnd pad ēw-kardagih kū awēšān dās*r abāz ō ham gyāg rasēnd ō mard kē mardōm andar axw ī astōmandān ō ān <I> xwēš ruwān be dahēnd*. Compare also *Y* 31.14.

par. 14

Compare *Dk* 7.10.10 (Molé 1967, pp. 100-01; *DkM* 673.16-20; *B* 308.14-17) *ud andar ān ī ōy hazārag *rahag-bandih ī dahāg, hangēzišn ī *keresāsp ō zadan ī dahāg, rasišn ī kay husraw u-š ham-xākān ō ayārīh <I> sōšāns pad frašagird-kardārīh ud winnārīšn ī frahist mardōm pad gāhānīg xēm ud dād*. "And in his millennium the escape of *Dahāg* from <his> bonds, the arousing of *Keresāsp* to smite *Dahāg*, the arrival of *Kay Husraw* and of his countrymen to help *Sōšāns* in the performance of the Restoration, and the ordainment of many men on spiritually righteous character and law <will take place>.

kōf ī dumbāwand: Mount Demavand. See *Bd* 9.31-32, 9.34 (TD1 32r.16-32v.6 and 32v.7-8; DH 180v.1-6 and 180v.1-8; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 96-99) and 31.32 (TD1 88v.11-88v.16; DH 219v.21-220r.42; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 268-69). See also Scarcia (1965, pp. 139ff.) and Eilers (1954).

bēwarāsp: Pseudonym of *Dahāg*. See *Bd* 934 (TD1 32v.7-8; DH 180v.7-8; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 98-99). See also Christensen (1944, p. 176).

nō hazār sāl: A reference to cosmic chronology. Interestingly enough it locates the battle between *Frēdōn* and *Dahāg* at the beginning of time. See ch. 7 par. 32.

frēdōn: Av. *θraētaona-*, NP. *Farēdūn*. He was the hero who fettered *Azdahāg* on mount Demavand. See Yarshater (1983a, p. 372) and compare Christensen (1931b, pp. 60ff. *et passim*) On the relation between *Frēdōn* and mount Demavand see also *Bd* 332 (TD1 89r.10-11; DH 220r.12-13; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 268-9).

par. 15

azdahāg: See ch. 5, par. 7.

frēdōn: See ch. 9, par. 14.

par. 16

dahāg: See ch. 5, par. 7.

<pad>: See Anklesaria (1957, p. 79).

par. 18

frēdōn: See ch. 9, par. 14.

azdahāg: See ch. 5, par. 7.

par. 20

srōš ud nēryōsang: See ch. 7, pars. 19.

sāmān keresāsp: Av. *kərəsāspa-*. The hero who conquered and killed *Bēwarāsp*. Christensen has demonstrated the original identity between *Sām* and *Keresāsp*. See Christensen (1931b, pp. 60, 99-106 and 129-46), Yarshater (1983a, p. 373) and Massé (1926, p. 51). Compare *DkM* 802.14-803.12 where the legend of *Keresāsp* is contained in the summary of *fargard* fourteen of the *Sūdgar* nask. Cf. also PR 18f1-35 (Williams 1990, pt. 1, pp. 102-11. On these last two texts see also Nyberg (1933). Compare further *Bd* 29.8-9 (TD1 83v.17-84r.10; DH 216v.7-216v.16; Anklesaria pp. 254-55): *sām rāy gōwēnd kū ahōš bawēd pad ān ka-š *tar-menūd dēn ī māzdēsnān turk-ēw kē *nāyin xwand ka xuft ēstēd pad tigr be *wist ud ānōh pad dašt ī *pēšānsē u-š ān ī abārōn būšāsp abar burd ēstēd mayān ī *dramanag *nibayēd u-š wafr azabar nišast ēstēd {pad ān kār kū ka azdahāg harzag bawēd ōy āxēzēd u-š be zanēd} u-š bēwar*

*frawahr ī ahlawān pānag hēnd. dahāg kē bēwarāsp-iz xwānēnd rāy gōwēd kū frēdōn ka-š ōy be grift pad kuštan nē šāyist u-š pas pad kōf ī dumbāwand be bast. ka harzag bawēd *sām āxēzēd u-š gad zanēd ud ōzanēd*: "About *Sām* they say that he is immortal, on the grounds that when he offended the Mazdean religion a Turk called *Nāyin* shot him with an arrow while he was sleeping and there, in the plain of *Pēšānsē*, he was in sinful sloth, he slept in the middle of wormwood and snow was above him {He was preserved} for the deed that when *Azdahāg* will be free he will rise and smite him}. Ten thousand *Frawahrs* of righteous men are <his> guardians. About *Dahāg* whom they also call *Bēwarāsp*, one says that when *Frēdōn* caught him he was not able to kill <him>, then he bound him on mount Demavand. When he is free *Sām* will rise and will strike him with the mace and kill him". Compare this passage with *Bd* 33.33-35 (TD1 93v.12-94r.22; DH 223v.10-223v.15; Anklesaria 1956, pp. 282-83).

par. 21

srōš ud nēryōsang: See ch. 7, par. 19.

par. 22

sāmān: See ch. 9, par. 20.

azdahāg: See ch. 5, par. 7.

par. 24

sōšāns: Av. *saošyant-*. The third *Saošyant*, who in the Pahlavi literature came to be known simply as *Sōšāns* was, in the Avesta, *astvaṭ.ərətā-*, the final saviour. Obviously he was the central character of Zoroastrian apocalyptic and eschatology. In addition to the bibliography mentioned under *Ušēdar* (ch. 9, par. 1), see, among others, Duchesne-Guillemin (1962, pp. 343-54 *et passim*), Widengren (1965, pp. 127f.), Boyce (1975a, pp. 234f., 282-84 *et passim*, 1984b, pp. 67f.), Kippenberg (1978, pp. 55f.). Cf. also *Dk* 7.11 (Molé 1967, pp. 102-05; *DkM* 674.22-676.14). For a possible reference to *Sōšāns* in book eight of the *Sibylline Oracles* see Boyce (1991, p. 397).

ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn: Compare, among others, *Bd* 1.29 for which see ch. 7, par. 29.

GLOSSARY

A

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| ¹ <i>abar</i> | [QDM] prep.: "up, on, over, about": 3:6, 4:38, 5:11, 7:36, 9:14; telep.: 1:3, 1:11, 3:19, 3:29, 4:39. |
| ² <i>abar</i> | [QDM] prevb.: "up, on"; see under vb.: 4:11, 4:39, 4:49, 4:50, 4:64, 4:67, 7:16, 7:21, 7:37, 9:10, 9:10, 9:14, 9:14, 9:20, 9:22. |
| <i>abaxšīhistan, abaxš-</i> | [ʔphšyhstn', ʔphšyh-] vb.: "to be repentant": <i>abaxšīhēnd</i> : 4:52. |
| <i>abaydāg</i> | [ʔpytʔk] adj.: "unseen, invisible": 3:26. |
| <i>abāg</i> | [LWTE] prep.: "with": 3:25, 3:27, 3:28, 6:8, 7:18, 7:22, 7:22, 7:24, 7:27, 7:35, 7:37, 8:5, 8:6, 8:7, 9:22. |
| <i>abāgīh</i> | [ʔpʔkyh] n.: "company": 6:8. |
| <i>abārīg</i> | [ʔpʔryk] adj., pr.: "other(s)": 5:1, 9:16. |
| <i>abārōn</i> | [ʔpʔlwn'] adj.: "sinful": 4:63; <i>abārōnān</i> pl.: 4:37. |
| <i>abārōnīh</i> | [ʔpʔlwn'yh] n.: "unrighteousness, sin": 4:25. |
| <i>abāxtar</i> | [ʔpʔhul] n.: "north": 4:55. |
| <i>abāyēd</i> | [ʔpʔyt'] impers. vb., 3 sg. pres., with inf.: "must, is fitting": 4:66; without inf., with prevb.: "is necessary, is required": <i>andar nē abāyēd</i> : 4:49. |
| <i>abāz</i> | [LAWHL] adv., prevb.: "back, again, re-": 3:11, 3:13, 3:23, 3:25, 3:27, 3:28, 4:31, 4:52, 4:57, 6:1, 6:6, 7:17, 7:20, 7:35, 7:36, 8:1, 8:4, 9:8, 9:16, 9:16, 9:18, 9:24. |
| <i>abesīhīdan, abesīh-</i> | [ʔpsyhytn', ʔpsyh-] vb.: "to perish, to be destroyed": <i>abesīhēd</i> : 3:26, <i>abesīhēnd</i> : 4:55, 7:16. |
| <i>abesīhēnīdan, abesīhēn-</i> | [ʔpshynytn, ʔpshyn-] vb.: "to destroy": <i>abesīhēnīdan</i> : 4:66, 7:1. |
| <i>abēgumānīhā</i> | [ʔpygwm'nyh'] adv.: "doubtlessly, without doubts": 4:51. |
| <i>abē-ōš</i> | [ʔpy'wš] adj.: "unconscious": 8:5. |
| <i>abēzag</i> | [ʔpyck] adj.: "pure": dox., 3:2, 4:7, 9:24. |

abgandan, abgan- [LMYTWN-tn, 'pkn'-] vh.: "to throw"; *frōd abganēd*: "to throw, to hurl down" 7:8; *be abganēd*: "to shed" 7:16.
abr ['bl] n.: "cloud": 4:43; *abr-ēw*: 4:42.
abrāstag-drafš ['pl'stk dlpš] adj.: "having raised banners": 7:7, 7:14.
abrāstag-zēn ['pl'stk zyn'] adj.: "having raised arms": 7:7.
abrōxtan, abrōz- ['plwhtn', 'plwc-] vh.: "to kindle": *abrōzēd*: 4:32.
aburnāy ['pln'd] n.: "child": *aburnāyān* pl.: 4:50.
aburnāyag ['pln'dyk] n.: "child": *aburnāyag-ēw*: 7:10.
abzār ['pz'ɹ] n.: "means": 6:1, 7:1.
abzūdan, abzāy- ['pzwtn', 'pz'(d)-] vb.: "to grow, to increase": *abzāyēd*: 4:47, 8:6, 8:6, 9:16; *be abzāyēd*: 4:18, 4:18, 4:19, 4:19.
abzāyēnīdār ['pz'dynyt'l] n. ag.: "increaser, epithet of Ohrmazd": dox.
abzāyīšn ['pz'dšn] vhl. n.: "increase": 4:46.
abzōnīg ['pzwnyk] adj.: "bountiful, epithet of Ohrmazd": dox., 3:6, 3:15, 4:1, 5:1, 6:1, 7:1.
ačārag ['c'lk] adj.: "compelled, in need": 3:16; *ačāragān* pl.: 4:36.
ačāragīh ['c'lyh] n.: "need": 4:54, 4:56.
a-drō ['KDBA] adj.: "honest, without (a) lie": 2:2.
afsōsgar ['pswsgl] n.: "mockery"; *afsōsgarān* pl.: 4:37.
agar [HT] conj.: "if": 9:18.
ahlaw ['hlwh'] adj.: "righteous, holy": 3:5, 3:6, 4:60, 5:1, 5:1, 5:1, 5:5, 6:1, 7:1, 7:19, 7:20, 7:22; *ahlawān* pl.: 4:37, 5:5; *ahlawtar* compar.: 3:2.
ahlawdād ['hlwb'd't'] n.: "(righteous) gift": 4:52.
ahlāyīh ['hl'dyh] n.: "righteousness": 5:11, 5:11.
ahlomāy ['hlmwk] n.: "heretic": 9:13, 9:14, 9:15, 9:15, 9:16.
ahlomāyīh ['hlmwkyh] n.: "heresy": 9:13.
ahōš ['hwš] adj.: "immortal": 3:2, 3:2, 3:2, 3:3, 3:3, 3:3.
ahōšīh ['hwšyh] n.: "immortality": 1:1, 3:1.
ahreman ['hlmn] p. n.: "Ahreman": 3:23, 3:27, 4:39, 5:7.
a-kāmagīhā ['k'mkyh'] adv.: "unwillingly": 9:10.
aleksandar ['lksndl] p. n.: "Alexander": 3:26, 7:32.
amahraspand ['mhrspnd] n.: "amahraspand, holy immortal": *amahraspandān* pl.: dox., 5:11, 6:8, 7:22, 7:27, 7:27, 7:37, 8:6.
amar ['ml] adj.: "innumerable, numberless": 6:6, 7:7, 7:8, 7:14, 7:15, 9:16.

amā [LNE] pers. pron. 1 pl.: "we": 9:18.
amāwand ['m'wnd] adj.: "forceful, powerful, strong": (*wahrām ī*) *amāwand*: 7:28.
amāwandīh ['m'wndyh] n.: "power": 9:10.
amurdād ['mwrđt] p. n.: "Amurdād": 7:24.
an [ANE] pers. pron. 1 sg.: "I": 3:2.
anāgīh ['n'kyh] n.: "evil": 4:67.
anāg-kāmagīh ['n'k k'mkyh] n.: "ill will": 4:9.
anāgīh-xwāstār ['n'kyh hw'st'ɹ] n.: "malevolent one, evil-wisher": 4:22.
anāg-xwāstārīh ['n'k hw'st'lyh] n.: "malevolence": 4:49.
anāhīd ['n'hyt] p. n.: "Anāhīd, Venus": 7:8.
anāstār ['n'st'ɹ] adj.: "without sin, virtuous, innocent": 7:10.
andar [BYN] prep.: "in, among, towards": 2:4, 3:2, 3:8, 4:13, 4:21, 4:26, 4:41, 4:64, 5:2, 5:3, 5:3, 5:6, 5:6, 5:7, 5:7, 5:8, 5:8, 5:9, 6:2, 6:9, 6:12, 6:13, 7:3, 7:13, 7:13, 9:12, 9:16; with *ō*: "into": 5:9.
andar [BYN] prevh.: "in; see under vh.": 3:7, 4:49, 8:3.
andarag ['ndlg] prep.: "in, inside of": 7:7.
anēr ['n'yl] adj., n.: "non-Ērānian": *anērān* pl.: 4:61.
anērān-bunīg ['n'yl'n bwnyk'] adj.: "of non-Ērānian origins": *anērān-bunīgān* pl.: 4:58.
anāstīg ['n'wstyɡ'] adj.: "unreliable": *anōstīgān* pl.: 4:37.
anāšag-ruwān ['nwšk lwh'n] adj.: "of immortal soul": 1:10, 2:2.
apparīšn ['plšn] vbl. n.: "theft": 4:7.
arang ['lng] p. n.: "river Arang": 6:5, 7:12, 7:39.
ardaxšīr ['lthšyl, 'lthštr] p. n.: "Ardaxšīr": 1:9, 3:24, 3:25.
ardā ['lt'y] adj.: "righteous": 4:42.
ardīg ['ltyk] n.: "battle": 6:7.
arešk ['lšk] n.: "envy": 8:2.
arjāsp ['lc'sp] p. n.: "Arjāsp": 6:9.
arwand ['lwnd] adj.: "swift": 4:48.
arwandāsp ['lwnd 'sp] adj.: "of swift horses, epithet of Xwaršēd": 9:2, 9:3, 9:5, 9:6, 9:7.
arzah ['lzh] p. n.: "Arzah": 9:5.
arzānīg ['lc'nyk] adj.: "worthy": *arzānīgān* pl.: 7:39.
arzīz ['lcyc] n.: "lead, tin": 4:57.
arzīzēn ['lcycyn'] adj.: "of lead, leaden": 3:19, 3:27.

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| <i>asēm</i> | [ʿsym] n.: "silver": 4:57. |
| <i>asēmēn</i> | [ʿsymyn] adj.: "of silver, silvern": 1:3, 1:9, 3:19, 3:24. |
| <i>asmān</i> | [ʿsmʿn] n.: "sky": 4:43, 6:4, 7:6. |
| <i>asp</i> | [SWSYA, ʿsp] n.: "horse": 4:48, 5:9, 6:6. |
| <i>ast</i> | [AYTʿ] vh., 3 sg. pres.: "is": 1:6, 1:7, 3:2, 3:21, 3:22, 5:1, 9:5, 9:14, 9:14. |
| <i>astān</i> | [AYTʿn] n. pl.: "beings": 5:11. |
| <i>astīh</i> | [AYTʿyh] n.: "existence": 9:8. |
| <i>astōmand</i> | [ʿstʿwmnd] adj.: "corporeal, material"; <i>astōmandān</i> pl.: 3:6, 3:15, 4:1, 5:1, 6:1, 7:1. |
| <i>asūrestān-mānišn</i> | [ʿswlstʿn mʿnšn] adj.: "dwelling in Asūrestān": 6:5. |
| <i>asūrīg</i> | [ʿswlyk] adj., n.: "Assyrian, of Asūrestān": 6:5. |
| <i>asūrīg-mānišn</i> | [ʿswlyk mʿnšnyh] n.: "residence of the Asūrīg, residence of the Assyrians": 6:5. |
| <i>aškānān</i> | [ʿškʿnʿn] p. n.: "Arsacids": 3:26. |
| <i>ašmā</i> | [LKWM] pers. pron. 2 pl.: "you": 2:3. |
| <i>aštād</i> | [ʿštʿt] p. n.: "Aštād": 2:1, 7:28. |
| <i>awērān</i> | [ʿpylʿn] adj.: "desolate, ruined": 5:8. |
| <i>awēšān</i> | [OLEŠʿn] pers., dem. pron. 3 pl.: "they, them, those, (all cases), pl. of <i>ōy</i> ": 2:4, 3:2, 3:2, 4:10, 4:22, 4:30, 4:39, 4:53, 4:56, 4:58, 4:59, 4:59, 4:60, 4:60, 4:61, 4:61, 4:62, 4:67, 4:67, 5:8, 5:9, 5:9, 5:11, 6:3, 6:3, 6:5, 6:6, 6:6, 7:1, 7:11, 7:16, 7:18, 7:21, 7:32, 7:39. |
| <i>ayāb</i> | [ʿywp] conj.: "or": 4:29, 4:30, 4:31, 4:32, 4:60. |
| <i>ayād</i> | [ʿbydʿt] n.: "memory": 6:11. |
| <i>ayārīh</i> | [hdybʿlyh] n.: "help": 7:4, 7:18, 7:27, 7:29. |
| <i>ayōxšust</i> | [ʿywkšwst] n.: "metal": 4:57. |
| <i>az</i> | [MN] prep.: "from, than": <i>passim</i> ; partitive: "of": 4:40, 4:67, 5:11, 5:11, 5:11, 6:10, 7:10, 9:10, 9:13, 9:14, 9:16; "on account of, because of": 9:14, 9:15, 9:15 (<i>az ān čiyōn</i>); together with <i>pas</i> : "after": 6:3, 7:23. |
| <i>azdahāg</i> | [ʿcydhʿk] p. n.: "Azdahāg = Dahāg": 5:7, 9:15, 9:18, 9:22. |
| <i>azēr</i> | [ʿcyl] prep., adv.: "under, below": 4:62. |
| <i>azg</i> | [ʿzg] n.: "branch": 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 3:19, 3:22. |
| <i>aziš</i> | [hčš] postp.: "from him, it; on account of": 2:3, 3:7, 4:31, 7:5, 7:20, 7:20, 9:22;. |

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| <i>ā</i> | [ʿ] ptcl. introducing the main clause often translated as "then": <i>ā-š</i> : 1:5. |
| <i>āb</i> | [MYA, ʿp] n.: "water": 3:6, 3:23, 4:24, 4:45, 4:46, 9:16, 9:17, 9:19; <i>ābān</i> pl., also as name of a tutelary deity: 7:6, 7:19, 7:19, 7:19, 7:22. |
| <i>ābādīh</i> | [ʿpʿtyh] n.: "prosperity": 4:61. |
| <i>ābād-xīrīh</i> | [ʿpʿt CBWyh] n.: "material prosperity": dox. |
| <i>ādur</i> | [ʿtwrʿ] n.: "(sacred) fire": 6:10, 7:24, 7:24, 7:26, 7:26, 7:37, 7:37, 7:37, 8:4, 8:4, 8:4. |
| <i>ādur farrbay</i> | [ʿtwr plnhʿg] p. n.: "Ādur Farrbay": 2:2. |
| <i>ādurbād</i> | [ʿtwrpʿt] p. n.: "Ādurbād": 3:25; Ādurbād ī Ādurmīhr: 2:2. |
| <i>ādurbādagān</i> | [ʿtwrpʿtkʿn] p. n.: "Ādurbādagān": 2:2. |
| <i>ādurmīhr</i> | [ʿtwrmtrʿ] p. n.: "Ādurmīhr": Ādurbād ī Ādurmīhr: 2:2. |
| <i>ādurōy</i> | [ʿtwrwk] p. n.: "Ādurōy": 6:10. |
| <i>āfrīnišn</i> | [ʿpryšn] vhl. n.: "blessings": dox. |
| <i>āgāh</i> | [ʿkʿs] adj.: "aware": 4:67, 5:11, 5:11. |
| <i>āhon</i> | [ʿs(y)n] n.: "iron": 1:3, 1:11, 3:19, 3:29. |
| <i>āhōg</i> | [ʿhwk] n.: "fault, blemish": 4:39, 4:39, 4:40. |
| <i>āmadan, āy-</i> | [YATWN-tn] vh.: "to come": <i>āmad</i> : 2:1; <i>āyēm</i> : 7:27; <i>āyēd</i> : 4:50, 6:4, 6:4, 7:2, 7:10, 9:9, 9:11; <i>abar āyēd</i> : "will come up, quake": 4:64; <i>andar āyēd</i> : "will arrive": 8:3; <i>be āyēd</i> : 9:2; <i>be āyēd</i> : 6:4. |
| <i>ān</i> | [ZK] dem. pron., adj.: "that", pers. pron. 3 sg.: "he, she, it", def. article "the": <i>passim</i> . |
| <i>ānāst</i> | [ʿnʿst] adj.: "spoilt, destroyed", here employed as n.: "slander": 4:38. |
| <i>ānāstīh</i> | [ʿnʿstyh] n.: "destruction": 4:56. |
| <i>ānīdan, ānāy-</i> | [HYTYWN-tn] vh.: "to lead": <i>ānāyēd</i> : 9:8, <i>abar ānīd</i> : 9:14. |
| <i>ānōh</i> | [TME] adv.: "there": 5:9; <i>ānōh-iz</i> : 6:10. |
| <i>ārāstag</i> | [ʿlʿstk] adj.: "adorned": 7:8, 7:10. |
| <i>ārāstār</i> | [ʿlʿstʿl] n. ag.: "arranger, adorer": 3:25, 7:28. |
| <i>ārāstan, ārāy-</i> | [ʿlʿstn, ʿlʿd-] vb.: "to arrange, to adorn": <i>ārāyēd</i> : 3:25. |
| <i>āstānag</i> | [ʿstʿnk] n.: "threshold, single family (fig.)" <i>āstānag-ēw</i> : 4:8. |
| <i>āškāragīh</i> | [ʿškʿlkyh] n.: "visibility, condition of being visible": 1:8, 3:23. |

āšnūdan, āš-
ātaxš



āwurdan, āwār-

āwādagān
āwām

āxistan, āxēz-

āyaft

āz

āzarm

āzarmūgīh

āzād

āzādagān

āzādīh

āzād-mard

āz-čīhrag

āz-parist

[ʃnwt̪nʰ, ʃnw-] vb.: "to hear": *āšnūd*: 7:33; *āšnawēd*: 9:22.
[t̪h̪ʃ, NWLA] n.: "fire": 3:23, 4:24, 7:19, 7:19, 7:19, 7:22,
9:10, 9:16, 9:17, 9:19; *ātaxš ī wahrām*: 4:7, 4:31.

[YHYTYWN-t̪nʰ] vb.: "to bring": *āwarēd*: 3:25; *āwarēnd*:
9:12.

[ʰwbʰtkʰn] pl. n.: "progeny": 6:2, 6:12.

[ʰwbʰm] n.: "time(s), days, epoch(s), period(s)": 1:7, 3:22,
4:3, 4:13, 4:21, 4:26, 4:28, 4:31, 4:49, 4:64, 4:68, 5:1, 5:2, 5:3,
5:6, 5:7, 6:2, 6:12, 7:7, 7:32, 8:3, 8:3.

[ʰhst̪nʰ, ʰhyc-] vb.: "to rise, to stand up": *āxēzēh*: 9:14;
āxēzēd: 9:14, 9:20, 9:22.

[ʰdyptʰ] n.: "gift, boon": 4:49.

[ʰc] n., p. n.: "greed, the demon *Āz*": 4:12, 4:25, 4:62, 8:2.

[ʰclm] n.: "honour, respect": 4:14, 4:20, 4:21.

[ʰclmykyh] n.: "honour, respect": 4:33.

[ʰcʰt] n.: "noble, Freeman": 4:54.

[ʰcʰtkʰn] pl. n.: "Freemen": 4:35, 4:36.

[ʰcʰtyh] n.: "freedom, the status of being a Freeman": 4:7.

[ʰcʰt GBRA] n.: "Freeman": *āzād-mardān*: 4:34.

[ʰc cyhlk] adj.: "of the seed of *Āz*": 9:11.

[ʰc plyst] n.: "worshipper of *Āz*": 4:41.

B

babr

bahl

bahlān

bahr

band

bandag

bandagīh

bastan, band-

bar

barsom

[bpl] n.: "tiger": 7:14.

[bʰhl] p. n.: "Balx": 7:7.

[bʰhlʰn] p. n.: "Balxān": 7:7.

[bʰhl] n.: "portion, lot": 9:13.

[bnd] n.: "bond, link": 9:14, 9:15, 9:16.

[bndk] n.: "cotton": 7:14.

[bnʰdkyh] n.: "slavery, servitude": 4:36.

[ASLWN-t̪nʰ] vb.: "to tie, to bind", *frāz bandēd* "(he) will
appoint": 8:1.

[bl] n.: "fruit, produce": 4:18, 4:18, 4:44.

[blswm] p. n.: "Barsom; a bundle of twigs of varying
number used in various religious ceremonies": 4:30, 5:1, 5:2,
7:24, 7:37.

barsnūm

baxtāfrīd

bayān

bālist

bāmdādān

bāmūg

¹bār

²bār

³bār

¹be

²be

bēwar

bēwarāsp

bēwargānag

bizeškīh

bīm

bōxtagīh

bōxtan, bōz-

bōxtārīh

bōy

brahmag

brād

brādarōš

brinjēn

¹bun

²bun

bun-gyāg

burdan, bar-

[bl̪snwm] p. n.: "Baršnūm; the major purification ritual":
4:29.

[bhtʰplyt] p. n.: "Baxtāfrīd": 2:2.

[bgʰn] p. n.: "Bayān Nask/Yasna": 7:22.

[bʰlyst] n.: "exaltation": 7:8.

[bʰmdʰtʰn] p. n.: "of Bāmdād, patronymic of Mazdak":
2:1, 3:28.

[bʰmyk] adj.: "glorious, brilliant, splendid": 3:2, 7:19, 7:19,
7:20, 7:20, 7:22, 7:24, 7:26, 7:27, 7:29, 7:36, 7:37, 7:39, 8:6,
8:7, 9:5.

[bʰl] n.: "time, occasion": 2:1, 3:1, 6:7, 9:21, 9:22.

[bʰl] n.: "bank, shore": 6:5, 7:12.

[bʰl] n.: "load, burden": 4:47.

[BRA] prevb. of indefinable function: *passim*. With verb
of movement, also fig.: *be* *ō*: 1:2, 4:7, 4:31, 4:33, 4:34, 4:36,
4:36, 4:36, 4:59, 6:10, 7:10, 7:18, 9:9, 9:12.

[BRA] prep.: "except for": 2:3.

[bywl] num.: "ten thousand, myriad": 4:3, 4:31.

[bywlʰsp] p. n.: "Bēwarāsp": 9:14.

[bywl kʰnk] numer., adj.: "ten thousand(fold), myriad(fold),
ten thousand times, a myriad times": 6:5, 6:6.

[bcškyh] n.: "medicine": 9:12.

[bym] n.: "fear": 4:40, 6:13, 9:15.

[bwhtkyh] n.: "salvation": 3:25.

[bwhtnʰ, bwc-] vb.: "to save, to redeem": *bōxtan*: 4:68, 6:11.

[bwhtʰlyh] n.: "salvation": 4:67.

[bwd] n.: "incense": 4:31, 8:4.

[blhmk] n.: "manner, costume": 4:53.

[blʰtʰ] n.: "brother": 4:15, 4:15.

[blʰtlwš] p. n.: "Brādarōš": 3:3, 3:3.

[blncyn] adj.: "of bronze, brazen": 3:19, 3:26.

[bwn] n.: "base, origin, foundation, beginning": 4:5, 8:8,
9:15, 9:16, 9:23.

[bwn] n.: "trunk": 1:3, 1:5, 1:6, 3:21, 7:16.

[bwn gywʰk] n.: "place of origin": 4:54.

[YBLWN-t̪nʰ, bl-] vb.: "to carry, to bear, to bring, to take":
burd: 3:13, 4:39; *burdan*: 4:24; *barēd*: 4:48; *barēnd*: 4:4, 4:39,

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| <i>burzēnmīhr</i> | 9:10, 9:12; <i>be barēd</i> : "to take away, to rid": 3:26, 4:44; <i>be barēnd</i> : "to take away": 4:67, 5:9. |
| <i>burzišnīg</i> | [bwlcnmtr] p. n.: "(Fire) Burzēnmīhr": 7:26, 7:37, 8:4. |
| <i>buš</i> | [bwlčšnyk] adj.: "praiseworthy": 3:15, 3:16, 3:17, 3:18. |
| <i>but</i> | [bws] n.: "mane": 6:6. |
| <i>būdan, baw-</i> | [bwt] p. n., n.: "Buddha, idol": 3:26. |
| | [YHWWN-tn, bwtm] vb.: "to be, to become": <i>būd</i> : 1:3, 1:5, 3:8, 3:15, 3:16, 3:19, 5:4, 5:7, 5:7, 5:8, 6:5, 6:5, 6:7, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:10, 7:2, 7:2, 7:3, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7, 7:7, 7:9, 7:9, 7:9, 7:9, 7:10, 7:13, 7:13, 7:13; <i>būdan</i> : 9:18; <i>bawād</i> : 8:6, 8:6, 8:6, col., col., col.; <i>bawānd</i> : 8:6; <i>bawēd</i> : 1:11, 3:23, 3:29, 4:1, 4:2, 4:16, 4:18, 4:19, 4:28, 4:30, 4:31, 4:31, 4:32, 4:41, 4:46, 4:60, 4:62, 4:64, 4:66, 5:2, 5:5, 5:8, 6:3, 6:4, 6:4, 6:4, 6:7, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:11, 6:13, 7:2, 7:5, 7:6, 7:6, 7:7, 7:16, 7:33, 8:5, 8:8, 8:8, 9:4, 9:9, 9:10, 9:11, 9:11; <i>bawēnd</i> : 4:20, 4:22, 4:40, 4:58, 5:1, 5:1, 5:6, 6:3, 6:3, 6:5, 9:12; <i>be būd</i> : 1:5, 3:2; <i>be bawēd</i> : 3:3, 3:3, 3:25, 4:8, 4:13, 4:15, 4:15, 4:23, 4:37, 4:58, 9:24; <i>be bawēnd</i> : 4:13, 4:41, 4:50, 4:60. |
| <i>būm-čandag</i> | [bwmcndk] n.: "earthquake": 6:4. |
| <i>būm</i> | [bwm] n.: "land": <i>būm-ēw</i> : 7:7. |

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| <i>čagād</i> | [ck't] n.: "peak, summit". Here as p. n.: <i>čagād ī dāytī</i> : "the Peak of the <i>Dāytī</i> , Lawful Peak": 7:20. |
| <i>čahār</i> | [4] num.: "four": 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 1:7. |
| <i>čahārom</i> | [ch'lwrm] ord. num.: "fourth" 9:22. |
| <i>čand</i> | [cnd] adj.: "so many, how many": 3:10; <i>čand tāg</i> : 3:9. |
| <i>čarbišt</i> | [clbšt] n.: "fat" 4:47. |
| <i>čašm</i> | [čsm] n.: "eye(s)": 4:60, 4:62. |
| <i>čāštan, čāš-</i> | [c'stn, c's-] vb.: "to teach": <i>čāšēd</i> : 2:3; <i>be čāš</i> : 4:67. |
| <i>čāšnīg</i> | [c'snyk] n.: "taste": 4:19. |
| <i>čegām-iz-ēw</i> | [cyk'mcHD] rel. pron., adj.: "whatever": 5:11. |
| ¹ čē | [ME] interrog. pron., adj.: "what, which": 3:5, 3:14, 4:1, 6:1, 7:1. |
| ² čē | [ME] conj.: "for, because, since": 4:28, 4:68, 5:7, 5:8, 5:9, 6:6, |

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| <i>čēčast</i> | 6:11, 6:13, 7:7, 9:5, 9:18. |
| <i>čērīh</i> | [cyst] p. n.: "lake Čēčast": 6:10. |
| <i>čīhrōmēhan</i> | [cylyb] n.: "bravery": 9:10. |
| <i>čim</i> | [cyulwmyhn] p. n.: "Čīhrōmēhan": 3:2, 7:19, 7:20. |
| <i>čiyōn</i> | [cym] n.: "reason, cause"; <i>čim rāy</i> : "for what reason?": 9:14. |
| | [cygwn] conj.: "as, like, when": 1:1, 3:2, 3:2, 3:10, 4:7, 4:57, 4:58, 4:58, 5:8, 6:6, 7:16, 9:10, 9:15; <i>ēdōn čiyōn</i> : "just as, as, as if": 5:2, 5:3; <i>owōn čiyōn</i> : "as, as if" 5:4. |
| <i>čīnestān</i> | [cynst'n] p. n.: "Čīnestān, China": 7:3. |
| <i>čīnīg</i> | [cynyk] adj., n.: "Čīnīg, Chinese": 4:58, 7:7. |
| <i>čōb</i> | [cwp] n.: "wood, stick, peg": 9:15. |

D

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| <i>dağr</i> | [dgl] adj.: "long": 3:13. |
| <i>dağr-zīwišnīh</i> | [dgl zywnyhn] n.: "long life": dox. |
| <i>dah</i> | [10] num.: "ten": 4:18, 4:19, 4:55, 9:3. |
| <i>dahāg</i> | [dh'k] p. n.: "Dabāg = Azdahāg": 7:32, 9:16. |
| <i>dahān</i> | [PWME] n.: "mouth": 4:57. |
| <i>dahigān</i> | [dhywk'n] n.: "Dehqān, villager, countryman": 4:54; <i>dahigānān</i> [MTAyk'n'n] pl.: 4:7. |
| <i>dahigānīh</i> | [dhywk'nyh] n.: "the status of being a Dehqān": 4:7. |
| <i>dahišn</i> | [dhšn] vbl. n.: "giving, creation(s), creature(s)": 4:7, 4:22. |
| <i>dahom</i> | [d'hwm] ord. num.: "tenth": 1:11, 3:29, 4:1, 4:16, 4:41, 6:13. |
| <i>darbās</i> | [dlp's] n.: "palace": 4:61. |
| <i>darmān</i> | [dlm'n] n.: "remedy, medicine": 9:12. |
| <i>daryā-mānišn</i> | [dlyd' m'nšn] adj.: "dwelling by the sea": 6:10. |
| <i>dast</i> | [YDE] n.: "hand(s)": 3:6, 3:6, 3:13, 4:22. |
| <i>dastagird</i> | [dstkrt] n.: "estate": 4:61. |
| <i>dastwar</i> | [dstwbl] n.: "Dastur, priest, spiritual authority": 2:2, 9:11. |
| <i>dašt</i> | [dšt] n.: "plain": 6:10, 7:12. |
| <i>daštānmarz</i> | [dšt'n'mlc] n.: "sexual acts with menstruous women": 4:63. |
| <i>dawāl-kustīg</i> | [dwb'l kwstyky] adj.: "having a leather girdle, with a leather girdle": 6:6, 7:11; <i>dawāl-kustīgān</i> pl.: 4:59, 7:32. |
| <i>daxšag</i> | [dhšk] n.: "sign": 4:1, 4:2, 6:3. |
| <i>dād</i> | [d't] n.: "law" 9:10, 9:10; <i>pad dād girēnd</i> : "they will accept |

as law(ful)": 4:24.

dādan, dah- [YHBNW-tñ', d'tñ'] vb.: "to give, to create": *dād*: 1:6, 3:12, 3:13, 3:14, 3:21, 3:25, 4:6, 4:7, 4:9, 4:12, 4:58, 5:6, 6:5, 6:6, 6:10, 6:10, 7:17, 7:19, 7:20, 7:36, 7:39, 8:1; *dah*: 6:2, 6:2, 6:2, 6:12, 6:12; *dahēd*: 5:11; *dahēnd* 4:31, 4:38, 4:52, 4:52, 4:52, 9:13; *be* (...) *dahēd*: 4:18; *be dahēnd*: 8:4.

dādār [d't'l] n. ag.: "Creator": dox., 3:2, 3:6, 3:15, 4:1, 5:1, 5:1, 5:1, 6:1, 6:2, 6:12, 7:1, 7:19, 7:27, 7:29, 9:20.

dādestānīh [d'tst'nyh] n.: "law": 9:12.

dād-gāh [d't g's] n.: "Fire Temple, legally prescribed place": 4:7, 7:24.

dādīhā [d'tyh'] adv.: "duly, dutifully, legally, lawfully, according to (religious) law": 4:31, 4:52, 8:4.

dādohrmazd [d't'whrmzd] p. n.: "Dādohrmazd": 2:2, 7:6.

dādwar [d'twb'l] n.: "judge": 4:37.

dām [d'm] n.: "creation, creature": 7:11, 9:8, 9:11, 9:16, 9:24; *dāmān* pl.: 3:2, 3:25.

dāmād [d'm't'] n.: "son-in-law": 4:15.

dān [d'n] n.: "seed": 7:24.

dānāg [d'n'k] adj.: "wise": 8:6.

dānistān, dān- [YDOYTWN-stn'] vb.: "to know": *dānist*: 3:5; *dānēd*: 4:32.

dār [d'l] n.: "plant(s), tree(s)": 3:10, 4:19.

dārūg [d'lw] n.: "drug, medicament": 9:12.

dās'r [d'sl] n.: "reward, gift": 9:13.

dāšn [d'sn'] n.: "gift": 4:52.

dāštan, dār- [YHSNN-tñ', d'stn d'l-] vb.: "to have, to hold, to keep, to wear": *dāštan*: 4:27; *dār*: 6:13; *dārēd*: 2:3, 3:9, 4:21, 4:47, 5:2; *dārēnd*: 4:4, 4:11, 4:20, 4:20, 4:27, 4:37, 4:40, 4:49, 5:1, 6:5, 7:14, 7:22, 7:24, 8:7; *abāz dārēd*: "keep away" 3:28; *pad ēd dāštan*: "to consider": *pad ēd dāšt*: 1:4, 3:12.

dāyī [d'ytyk] p. n.: "Dāyī"; *čagād ī dāyī*: "the Peak of the Dāyī, Lawful Peak": 7:20.

deh [MTA] n.: "country, land, village": 4:7, 4:8, 4:54, 4:61, 5:8, 7:7; *dehān* pl.: 4:6, 4:9, 4:12, 4:26, 4:58, 5:9, 6:3, 6:5, 6:6, 6:6, 6:10, 6:10, 7:11, 7:14, 7:17, 7:19, 7:20, 7:36, 7:39, 8:1; *deh-ēw*: 4:8.

dēn [dyn'] n.: "religion": 1:8, 2:1, 3:2, 3:2, 3:23, 3:23, 3:24, 3:25,

3:26, 3:28, 4:7, 4:31, 4:31, 4:53, 4:53, 5:1, 5:1, 5:2, 5:5, 5:9, 6:1, 6:9, 6:9, 6:10, 7:6, 7:11, 7:20, 7:28, 7:36, 8:1, 8:6, 8:6, 8:7, 9:1, 9:7, 9:10, 9:10, 9:10.

dēn-burdār [dyn'bwlt'l] adj.: "pious, believer": 3:2, 4:21; *dēn-burdārān* pl.: 4:37.

dēnīg [dyn'yk] adj.: "religious": 5:1, 7:5, 7:24; *dēnīgān* pl.: 4:27.

dēn-petyārag [dyn'pty'lk] adj.: "adversary of the religion, epithet of Mazdak": 2:1, 3:28.

dēn-rāstīh [dyn'l'styh] n.: "truth of the religion": 4:7.

dēn-rāst-wirāstār [dyn'l'st'wyl'st'l] n.: "true restorer of the religion" 3:25, 7:19, 7:20, 9:5.

dēsag [dysk] n.: "form, appearance": 9:15.

dēw [ŠDYA] n.: "demon, dēw": 3:24, 4:26, 7:2, 7:11, 8:6; *dēwān* pl.: 1:8, 1:8, 1:11, 3:23, 3:23, 3:23, 3:29, 4:3, 4:10, 4:39, 5:7, 6:1, 6:5, 6:6, 6:8, 7:15, 7:18, 7:26, 7:30, 7:32, 7:36, 7:37, 8:5, 8:6.

dēw-druzīh [ŠDYA dlwcyh] n.: "demon-ness of the dēw, demonry of the dēw": 8:6.

dēwēs [dyw(')ysn] adj., n.: "dēw-worshipping, dēw-worshippers": *dēwēsān* pl.: 4:67, 7:18.

did [TWB] pron.: "other"; *ēk ō did rāy*: "one of/to the other, of one another": 4:13, 4:39, 4:40.

dil [dyl] n.: "heart": 4:50.

dīdan, wēn- [HZYTWN-tñ', dytn'] vb.: "to see": *dīd*: 1:4, 1:6, 3:10, 3:12, 3:14, 3:16, 3:17, 3:18, 3:19, 3:21, 3:22; *dīd ham* 3:15; *wēnēd*: 7:39; *wēnē*: 7:36; *wēnēnd*: 7:15; *be dīd* 1:3, 1:5, 3:9.

dīdār [dyt'l] n.: "sight": 6:4.

dō [2] num.: "two": 3:13, 4:18, 4:31, 4:60, 7:11.

dōšāram [dws'lm] n.: "love": 4:14, 4:20.

drafš [dlpš] n.: "banner, flag": 4:61, 5:9, 6:3, 6:5, 6:6, 6:6, 7:7, 7:7, 7:7, 7:8, 7:10, 7:14.

draxt [dlht] n.: "tree": 3:10, 4:19; *draxt-ēw*: 1:5, 1:6, 3:19, 3:21, 7:16.

drāyīdan, drāy- [dl'dytn', dl'(d)-] vb.: "to say, to speak (daevic)": *drāyēd*: 9:14, 9:15.

driyōš [dlywš] adj., n.: "poor": 3:16, 4:68.

driyōšīh [dlywšyh] n.: "poverty": 4:54.

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| <i>drō</i> | [KDBA] n.: "lie, deceit": 4:38. |
| <i>drōd</i> | [ŠRM] n.: "health, peace": col. |
| <i>drō-dādestān</i> | [KDBA d'tst'n] adj.: "of deceitful law, of deceitful judgement": <i>drō-dādestānān</i> pl.: 4:37, 4:49. |
| <i>drōn</i> | [dlwn] p. n.: "Drōn (ceremony)": 4:30. |
| <i>drōšag</i> | [dlwšk] n.: "desolation": 9:23. |
| <i>druwand</i> | [dlwnd] adj.: "sinful, unrighteous": 3:26, 4:66, 6:13, 7:26, 7:31, 7:33, 7:35, 8:5; <i>druwandān</i> pl.: 7:36, 7:39. |
| <i>druwandīh</i> | [dlwndyh] n.: "unrighteousness": 4:25, 4:63, 6:2, 8:2. |
| <i>druz</i> | [dlwc] n.: "demon": 6:3, 6:5, 7:37, 9:11; <i>druzān</i> pl.: 7:26. |
| <i>druzīh</i> | [dlwcyh] n.: "demon-ness, demonry": 9:10. |
| <i>dudīgar</i> | [dtykl] ord. num.: "second": 3:1, 6:9. |
| <i>dujdēn</i> | [dwšdyn'] adj.: "of evil religion": 7:32. |
| <i>dumbāwand</i> | [dmb'wnd] p. n.: "Dumbāwand, Demavand": 9:14. |
| <i>dušmen</i> | [dwšm(y)n] n.: "enemy": 4:40, 6:6, 9:10; <i>dušmenān</i> pl.: 7:16. |
| <i>dušox</i> | [dwšhw] n.: "hell": 3:15, 3:23, 3:27, 4:25, 4:25, 4:40, 4:68, 6:2, 7:26, 7:35. |
| <i>duš-pādxšāy</i> | [dwš p'thš'd] n.: "evil ruler": 4:60. |
| <i>duš-pādxšāyīh</i> | [dwš p'thš'yh] n.: "evil rule, misrule": 1:11, 3:29, 4:9, 4:12, 4:49. |
| <i>duš-pādxšāyīhtar</i> | [dwš p'thš'dyhtl] adj. compar.: "of more evil rule, of worse rule": 4:66. |
| <i>duš-xwadāyīh</i> | [dwš hw't(y)yh] n.: "evil rule, misrule": 4:56, 4:61, 5:7, 5:8. |
| <i>dušxwār</i> | [dwšhw'l] adj.: "disagreeable": 3:4. |
| <i>dušxwārīh</i> | [dwšhw'lyh] n.: "misfortune, distress": 6:4. |
| <i>duxt</i> | [dwht] n.: "daughter": 4:35. |
| <i>duxtar</i> | [dwhtl] n.: "daughter": 4:15. |
| <i>dūdāg</i> | [dwtk] n.: "family, household, sept": 4:8, 4:20, 4:34, 4:54, 4:61, 5:1, 5:5, 8:6; <i>dūdāg-ēw</i> : 4:8. |
| <i>dwārīdan, dwār-</i> | [dwb'lytn', dwb'l-] vb.: "to run, to move, to crawl, to creep (daevic)": <i>dwārēd</i> : 7:18, 7:34, 7:35; <i>dwārēnd</i> : 3:23, 3:27, 4:4, 4:25; <i>ul dwārēnd</i> : "they will creep forth": 4:6; <i>pad stōwīh dwārēd</i> : "will be defeated". |
| <i>dwārīšn</i> | [dwb'lšn] vbl. n., part. of necessity: "moving, movement": 7:18, 9:16, 9:16. |
| <i>dwāzdah-hōmāst</i> | [dw'cdh hwm'st] p. n.: "Dwāzdah-Hōmāst ceremony": 7:19, 7:21, 7:37; <i>dwāzdah-hōmāst-ēw</i> : 5:3. |

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| <i>enyā</i> | [ʔyn'y'] conj.: "otherwise": 9:10. |
| <i>ē</i> | [ʔy] ptcl. giving the present tense optative sense: 6:2, 6:12. |
| <i>ēbyānghān</i> | [ʔyby'ngħn] n.: "sacred girdle, = kustīg": 4:27. |
| <i>ēč</i> | [ʔyc] adj.: (with negative): "not any": <i>ēč-ēw</i> : 6:13. |
| <i>ēd</i> | [HNA] dem. pron., adj.: "this": 1:4, 3:2, 3:2, 3:12, 6:5, 6:10, 7:16, 7:19, 9:13. |
| <i>ēdōn</i> | [ʔytwn'] adv.: "thus, so": 4:60, 4:67, 5:11, 6:6, 6:10, 7:1, 7:15, 7:16, 7:33, 8:6, 9:12, 9:12, 9:15, col.; <i>ēdōn čiyōn</i> : "just as, as, as if": 5:2, 5:3; <i>ēdōntar-iz</i> : col. |
| <i>ēg</i> | [ADYN] adv.: "then, thereupon": 3:2, 3:3; <i>ēg-iš</i> : 1:4, 6:10, 6:11, 9:12; <i>ēg-šān</i> : 4:27, 4:67. |
| <i>ēk</i> | [ʔywk] num.: "one": 1:3, 1:3, 1:3, 1:3, 3:9, 3:19, 3:19, 3:19, 3:19, 3:19, 3:19, 4:31, 4:60, 6:5, 6:5, 6:8, 7:12, 7:12, 7:12, 9:1; <i>ēk-ēw</i> : 4:31; <i>ēk ō did rāy</i> : "one of/to the other": 4:13, 4:39, 4:40. |
| <i>ēk-sad</i> | [1 100] num.: "one hundred": 4:3, 7:22, 7:24, 8:7. |
| <i>ēk-sad-sālagīh</i> | [1 100 ŠNTkyh] n.: "age of one hundred years": 7:5. |
| <i>ēmēd</i> | [ʔdmyt] n.: "hope": 4:67. |
| <i>ēn</i> | [ZNE] dem. pron., adj.: "this": <i>passim</i> ; <i>ēn-iz</i> : 4:68. |
| <i>ēr</i> | [ʔyl] adj., n.: "Iranian, Ērānian": 4:21; <i>ērān</i> : 4:6, 4:9, 4:12, 4:26, 4:58, 4:61, 5:9, 6:5, 6:6, 6:6, 6:10, 6:10, 7:11, 7:14, 7:17, 7:19, 7:20, 7:36, 7:39, 8:1. |
| <i>ērānag</i> | [ʔyl'nk] adj.: "Ērānian": 9:10. |
| <i>ērānšahr</i> | [ʔyl'n štr] p. n.: "Ērānšahr, land of the Iranians": 4:4, 5:8, 7:10. |
| <i>ēsm</i> | [ʔysm] n.: "firewood": 4:31, 8:4. |
| <i>ēstādan, ēst-</i> | [YKOYMWN-tñ] vb.: "to stand, to be, to continue; auxiliary verb": <i>ēstam</i> : 3:13; <i>ēstād</i> : 1:3, 1:11, 3:19, 3:29; <i>ēstēd</i> : 3:10, 3:10, 3:28, 4:7, 4:32, 4:39, 4:49, 4:53, 5:3, 5:4, 5:4, 5:5, 9:16, 9:17; <i>ēstēnd</i> : 1:8, 3:23, 4:34; <i>be ēst</i> 9:2; <i>be ēstēd</i> : 9:3; <i>be ēstēnd</i> : 6:6, 9:4; <i>abar (...)</i> <i>ēstēnd</i> : "to stand by": 4:11; <i>ul ēstādan</i> : "to stand up": <i>ul ēst</i> : 7:31; <i>ul ēstēd</i> : 9:15. |
| <i>ēw</i> | [HD] adj.: "a, one": 2:1, 7:16. |
| <i>ēwēn</i> | [ʔdw'yn] n.: "manner(s), custom(s)": 4:11. |

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| <i>ēwēnag</i> | [ˈdwyɲk] n.: "kind(s)": 4:3, 4:3, 4:3. |
| <i>ēwēnagīh</i> | [ˈdwyɲkyb] n.: "custom, habit": 9:13. |
| F | |
| <i>farrbay</i> | [plnbˈg] p. n.: "(Fire) Farrbay": 7:24, 7:26, 7:37, 8:4. |
| <i>frabīh</i> | [plpyb] adj.: "fat, stout": 3:16, 4:68, 4:68. |
| <i>fradom</i> | [pltwm] ord. num.: "first": 9:15. |
| <i>framān</i> | [plmˈn] n.: "order, command": 4:58, 7:28. |
| <i>framūdan, framāy-</i> | [plmwtnˈ, plmˈd-] vb.: "to order, to command": <i>framāyēm</i> : 7:27. |
| <i>frawahr</i> | [plwˈhl] n.: "fravaši, man's immortal soul": 3:5. |
| <i>frawardīgān</i> | [plwlykyˈn] p. n.: "(festival of) Frawardīgān": 4:51. |
| <i>frazaft</i> | [plcptˈ] pt. part.: "complete, completed": col. |
| <i>frazand</i> | [prznd] n.: "child, offspring": 6:11. |
| <i>frazām</i> | [plcˈm] n.: "end": 7:6. |
| <i>frazdān</i> | [plzdˈn] p. n.: "(lake) Frazdān": 7:2. |
| <i>frāsyāb</i> | [plˈsyˈp] p. n.: "Frāsyāb": 5:7, 7:32. |
| <i>frāt</i> | [plˈt] p. n.: "(river) Frāt, Euphrates": 6:5. |
| <i>frāx-anīg</i> | [plˈhw ˈnyk] adj.: "with/of the broad front": 6:6, 7:11. |
| <i>frāx-gōyōd</i> | [plˈhw ˈgwyˈwt] adj.: "(of) the wide pastures, standard epithet of Mihr": 7:28, 7:31, 7:31, 7:32, 7:34, 7:36, 9:5. |
| <i>frāz</i> | [prˈc] prevb.: "forth, forwards, etc.": 3:6, 3:6, 3:7, 3:7, 4:26, 4:30, 4:30, 4:53, 4:67, 6:6, 7:19, 7:19, 7:19, 7:20, 7:20, 7:22, 7:22, 7:22, 7:24, 7:24, 7:24, 7:26, 7:37, 7:37, 7:39, 8:1, 8:1, 8:7, 8:7. |
| <i>frēdōn</i> | [plytwnˈ] p. n.: "Frēdōn": 9:14, 9:15, 9:15, 9:18. |
| <i>frēftār</i> | [plyptˈl] n. ag.: "deceiver": 4:10, 4:13; <i>frēftārtar</i> adj. compar.: "more deceiving": 4:20. |
| <i>frēftārīh</i> | [plyptˈlyh] n.: "deceit": 4:12. |
| <i>frēstādan, frēst-</i> | [šDRWN-tɲˈ] vb.: "to send": <i>frēstam</i> : 7:19. |
| <i>friyān</i> | [plyˈn] p. n.: "of the Friy family, patronymic of <i>Ĵōšt</i> ": 3:2. |
| <i>rōd</i> | [plwt] prevb.: "down": 7:8. |

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| <i>jad</i> | [gt] n.: "club": 9:22. |
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| <i>gannāg mēnōg</i> | [gnnˈk mynwk] p. n.: "Gannāg Mēnōg, the Evil/Foul Spirit": 4:66, 7:18, 7:26, 7:31, 7:33, 7:35, 8:5. |
| <i>gar</i> | [gl] n.: "mountain, mount": 7:27. |
| <i>garān</i> | [glˈn] adj.: "grievous, grave, serious": 9:16, 9:16. |
| <i>garm</i> | [glm] adj.: "hot": 4:44. |
| <i>garmō-āb</i> | [glmwˈp] adj.: "of warm waters": 6:10. |
| <i>garzišn</i> | [glcšnˈ] vbl. n.: "complaint": 9:17, 9:18. |
| <i>gāh</i> | [gˈs] n.: "place, status, throne": 5:9, 6:10, 7:20, 7:36, 8:1, 8:1, 8:4, 8:6. |
| <i>gāhān</i> | [gˈsˈn] p. n.: "Gāthās": 5:4. |
| <i>gāhānbār</i> | [gˈsˈnbˈl] p. n.: "Gāhānbār festival": 4:51. |
| <i>gām</i> | [gˈm] n.: "step": 4:28, 4:28. |
| <i>gāw</i> | [TWRA] n.: "cow, ox, (large) cattle": 4:47, 4:48, 9:16. |
| <i>gēhān</i> | [gyhˈn] n.: "world": 3:6, 3:15, 3:24, 3:25, 3:25, 3:26, 3:26, 4:1, 4:14, 4:23, 4:58, 4:61, 4:62, 4:64, 4:67, 5:1, 6:1, 6:4, 6:4, 7:1, 7:6, 7:28, 8:2, 9:4, 9:11, 9:14, 9:16, 9:23. |
| <i>gētiḡ</i> | [gytyk, gytydy] n.: "the material world": 1:6, 3:21, 4:68, 9:18; <i>gētiḡān</i> : [gytydyˈn] pl.: "material beings": 1:5. |
| <i>gilistag</i> | [glystk] n.: "dwelling (of the dēws)": 6:5, 7:15. |
| <i>gird</i> | [gltˈ] adj.: "round, gathered"; <i>gird kunēnd</i> : "they will gather": 4:62. |
| <i>gišnag</i> | [gšnk] adj.: "short": 6:2. |
| <i>gizistag</i> | [gcstk] adj.: "accursed; epithet of Mazdak": 2:1, 3:28. |
| <i>gōbedšāh</i> | [gwptšh] p. n.: "Gōbedšāh": 3:2. |
| <i>gōhr</i> | [gwhl] n.: "gem, jewel": 4:57. |
| <i>gōnag</i> | [gwnk] n.: "colour, kind": 6:4, 6:4, 6:4. |
| <i>gōr</i> | [gwl] n.: "onager": <i>wahrām gōr</i> : 3:27. |
| <i>gōspand</i> | [gwspnd] n.: "sheep, (small) cattle": 4:47, 9:16; <i>gōspandān</i> pl.: 3:9. |
| <i>griftan, gīr-</i> | [OHDWN-tɲˈ] vb.: "to take, to hold": <i>gīrēnd</i> : 4:24, 4:35, 8:7; <i>frāz grift</i> : 3:6; <i>abar gīrēnd</i> : "they must take upon <themselves>": 4:67; <i>ul gīrēnd</i> : "they will hold high": 6:6, 7:7. |
| <i>guftan, gōw-</i> | [YMRRWN-tɲˈ, YMLLWN-tɲˈ, gwptɲˈ] vb.: "to say, to speak": <i>guft</i> : 1:5, 3:2, 3:6, 4:67, 6:3, 6:3, 6:5, 6:5, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:10, 6:12, 7:2, 7:2, 7:3, 7:3, 7:5, 7:6, 7:7, 7:7, 7:9, 7:9, 7:9, 7:10, 7:13, 7:13, 7:13; <i>guft-iš</i> : 1:6, 3:3, 3:14, |

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| | 3:15, 3:20, 4:1, 4:2, 4:65, 5:2, 5:6, 6:3, 6:13, 7:2, 8:8, 9:8; <i>gōw</i> : 4:67; <i>gōwam</i> : 4:68, 9:20; <i>gōwēd</i> : 5:1, 8:6, 9:19, 9:19; <i>gōwēnd</i> : 4:10, 4:10, 4:38, 4:39, 4:40, 4:67, 7:27; <i>be gōwēd</i> : 5:3; <i>frāz gōwēnd</i> : 4:67; (<i>ō</i>) <i>pēš gōwam</i> : "I foretell": 3:20, 4:65, 5:10, 7:38, 8:8, 9:8. |
| <i>gōwišn</i> | [gwbšn'] vbl. n.: "words, speech": 4:37, 4:37, 4:37. |
| <i>guhrādan</i> | [gwhl(')dn'] vb.: "to wake": <i>guhrād ham</i> : 3:12, 3:13. |
| <i>gumārdan, gumār</i> | [gwm'tn', gwm'l-] vb.: "to entrust": <i>gumārd</i> : 8:1. |
| <i>gumēxtan, gumēz-</i> | [gwm'yhtn', gwm'yc-] vb.: "to mix, to blend": <i>gumēxt ēstēd</i> : 3:10; <i>abar gumēxt ēstād</i> : 1:3, 1:11, 3:19, 3:29; <i>andar gumēxt</i> : 3:7. |
| <i>gund</i> | [gwnd] n.: "troop(s)": 7:8, 7:10. |
| <i>gurg</i> | [gwlg] n.: "wolf": 7:11, 8:3. |
| <i>gušnasp</i> | [gwšn(')sp] p. n.: "(Fire) Gušnasp": 6:10, 7:26, 7:37, 8:4. |
| <i>gyāg</i> | [gyw'k] n.: "place": 4:51, 4:51, 4:54, 5:8, 5:9, 6:7, 6:10, 9:16. |

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| <i>h-</i> | [HWE-] defective vb.: "to be; auxiliary verb": <i>ham</i> : 3:2, 3:12, 3:13, 3:15; <i>hē</i> : 5:4; <i>hēd</i> : 5:7; <i>hēnd</i> : 4:4, 4:4, 4:10, 4:10, 4:67, 5:7, 5:8, 5:11, 6:6, 7:1, 7:7, 7:7, 7:8, 7:14, 7:22, 9:14. |
| <i>haft</i> | [7, hpt] num.: "seven": 3:8, 3:9, 3:19, 3:22, 3:22. |
| <i>haftom</i> | [hptwm] ord. num.: "seventh": 3:11. |
| <i>ham-ayārīh</i> | [hm hdyb'lyh] n.: "cooperation": 7:11, 7:26. |
| <i>hamāg</i> | [hm'k] adj.: "all, whole": 3:24, 4:13, 4:22, 4:23, 4:33, 4:41, 4:43, 5:9, 6:10, 7:26, 7:27, 9:4, 9:7. |
| <i>ham-čiyōn</i> | [hm cygwn] adv.: "similarly, in this same manner": 9:15. |
| <i>ham-drafs</i> | [hm dlpš] adj.: "having a common banner": 7:11. |
| <i>hamē</i> | [hm'y] adv.: "always": 9:10. |
| <i>ham-gōnag</i> | [hm gwnk] adv.: "likewise": 9:11. |
| <i>ham-kōxšīnīh</i> | [hm kwššnyh] n.: "co-combativeness, common struggle, struggle one with the other, conflict": 6:7, 6:9, 7:26. |
| <i>ham-pursagīh</i> | [hm pwrskyh] n.: "conversation": 6:9, 7:3, 9:1, 9:2. |
| <i>ham-pursīdan, ham-purs-</i> | [hm pwrsytn', hm pwr-] vb.: "to converse": <i>ham-pursēm</i> : 1:8, 3:23. |
| <i>ham-rasišnīh</i> | [hm lsnyh] n.: "common arrival, arriving together": 6:6. |
| <i>ham-zōtīh</i> | [hm zwtyh] n.: "co-celebration": 7:24. |

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| <i>hangad</i> | [hngt'] adj., n.: "rich (man)": 3:15. |
| <i>hangadīh</i> | [hngtyh] n.: "fortune, wealth": 4:61. |
| <i>hangām</i> | [hng'm] n.: "time, occasion": 4:42, 4:45. |
| <i>hangārdan, hangār-</i> | [hng'tn', hng'l-] vb.: "to consider, to reckon": <i>hangārēnd</i> : 4:25. |
| <i>hanjamarīg</i> | [hncmnyk] adj., n.: "belonging to the community, member of the assembly"; <i>hanjamarīgān</i> pl.: 5:11. |
| <i>har</i> | [KRA] adj.: "all, every, each": 3:9, 3:13, 4:56, 4:57, 4:60, 6:10, 9:10. |
| <i>harēw</i> | [hl'yw'] p. n.: "Harēw": 7:9. |
| <i>harg</i> | [hl'g] n.: "tribute, duty": 4:67. |
| <i>harwisp</i> | [hlwsp'] adj.: "all, every": 4:7. |
| <i>harwisp-āgāhīh</i> | [hlwsp 'k'syh] n.: "all knowledge, omniscience": 1:2, 3:5, 3:6, 3:7, 3:11. |
| <i>hašt</i> | [8] num.: "eight": 4:18. |
| <i>hazār</i> | [1000] num.: "thousand": 4:3, 4:31, 4:31, 5:6, 7:15, 7:32, 7:32, 9:1, 9:14. |
| <i>hazārag</i> | [hc'lk] n.: "millennium": 3:29, 3:29, 4:2, 4:41, 5:8, 6:10, 6:13, 6:13, 6:13, 8:8, 9:9, 9:10, 9:11, 9:12, 9:23. |
| <i>hazārgānag</i> | [1000 k'nk] numer. adj.: "(one) thousand times, (one) thousandfold": 6:5, 6:6. |
| <i>hād</i> | [HWEt'] conj.: "that is, namely, i.e.": 5:1, 6:3, 6:3, 6:5, 6:5, 6:5, 6:6, 6:6, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:10, 6:10, 7:2, 7:2, 7:3, 7:3, 7:4, 7:5, 7:6, 7:7, 7:7, 7:9, 7:9, 7:9, 7:9, 7:10, 7:10, 7:13, 7:13, 7:14, 7:19. |
| <i>hādōxt</i> | [h'twht] p. n.: "Hādōxt (Nask)": 7:19, 7:22. |
| <i>hāmōyēn</i> | [h'mwdyn] adj.: "all": 3:10. |
| <i>hāwīšt</i> | [h'wšt'] n.: "disciple": 7:22, 8:7; <i>hāwīštān</i> pl.: 4:40, 4:67. |
| <i>hāwīštīh</i> | [h'wštyh] n.: "disciplehood": 4:39. |
| <i>hēn</i> | [hyn'] n.: "army": 6:6, 7:11. |
| <i>hērbed</i> | [hylpt'] n.: "Mazdean priest, Hērbed"; <i>hērbedān</i> pl.: 4:40, 4:67. |
| <i>hērbedīh</i> | [hylptyh] n.: "priesthood": 4:39. |
| <i>hindūg</i> | [hndwk] adj., n.: "Hindūg": 4:58, 7:7; <i>hindūgān</i> pl.: 7:3, 7:4. |
| <i>hixr</i> | [hyhl] n.: "excrement": 4:28. |
| <i>hordād</i> | [hwrdt] p. n.: "Hordād (Yašt)": 2:1, 7:24. |

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| <i>hrōmāyīg</i> | [hlwm'(d)yk] adj., n.: "Hrōmāyīg, Byzantine(s), Macedonian(s), Roman(s)": 4:58, 6:3, 6:6, 6:10, 7:32, 9:10; <i>hrōmāyīgān</i> pl.: 4:59. |
| <i>hu-dahigān</i> | [hw d'hk'n] n.: "good countryman, good villager": 8:6. |
| <i>hukairyāt</i> | [hwkyly't] p. n.: "mount Hukairya": 7:27. |
| <i>humat</i> | [hwmt] n.: "good thoughts": 7:22. |
| <i>hunar</i> | [hwnl] n.: "skill, virtue": 4:20, 4:48. |
| <i>husraw</i> | [hwsrw(h')] p. n.: "Husraw": 1:10, 2:2, 2:4, 3:28; adj.: "honoured, of good repute" 3:15. |
| <i>huwaršt</i> | [hwwlšt] n.: "good actions": 7:22, 8:6. |
| <i>hu-xwadāy</i> | [hw hwt'y] n.: "good lord"; <i>hu-xwadāyān</i> pl.: 8:6. |
| <i>hūxt</i> | [huht] n.: "good words": 7:22. |
| <i>hyōn</i> | [hywn] n.: "Hyōn, Hun(s)": 4:58. |

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| <i>ī</i> | [Y, ZY-] rel. pron., connective particle: <i>passim</i> ; <i>ī-š</i> : 4:49, 7:32; <i>ī-šān</i> : 4:49. |
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J

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| <i>jam-kard</i> | [ym krt'] adj.: "made by Jam": 9:14. |
| <i>jašn</i> | [yšn] n.: "festival": 4:51. |
| <i>jadūg</i> | [y'twk'] n.: "sorcerer"; <i>jadūgān</i> pl.: 3:27, 7:26. |
| <i>jadūgīh</i> | [y'twkyh] n.: "sorcery": 4:6. |
| <i>jamag</i> | [y'mk] n.: "clothing, garment": 7:22. |
| <i>jōrdā</i> | [ywl't'y, ywl't'k] n.: "corn, grain"; <i>jōrdāyān</i> pl.: 4:18, 4:44. |
| <i>jōšt</i> | [ywšt] p. n.: "Jōšt": 3:2. |
| <i>judāg</i> | [ywdt'k] adj.: "separate": 3:24, 4:15. |
| <i>jud-bēš</i> | [ywdt' byš] adj.: "of antidotes, opposing harm, harmless": 3:2. |
| <i>jud-dēn</i> | [ywdt' dyn'] adj.: "of (a) different religion"; <i>jud-dēnān</i> pl.: 4:67. |
| <i>jud-dēs</i> | [ywdt dys] adj.: "of different form, altered": 4:15. |
| <i>jud-dēw</i> | [ywdt šDYA] adj.: "anti-demonic": 6:10. |
| <i>jud-gōnag</i> | [ywdt gwnk] adj.: "of different kind/sort, altered": 4:13. |
| <i>jud-kāmag</i> | [ywdt k'mk'] adj.: "of different will, of contrasting will": |

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| <i>jud-kēš</i> | 4:15. [ywdt kyš] adj.: "of different/other faith, infedel"; <i>jud-kēšān</i> pl.: 4:22, 4:33. |
| <i>jud-ristag</i> | [ywdt' lystk'] adj.: "of different sect, heretic"; <i>jud-ristagān</i> pl.: 3:25, 3:28, 4:33. |
| <i>jud-ristagīh</i> | [ywdt lstkyh] n.: "heresy": 3:26. |
| <i>jumbēnīdan, jumbēn</i> | [ywmhynytn', ywmhyn-] vh.: "to (cause to) move": <i>be jumbēnēd</i> : 9:20. |
| <i>juwān</i> | [ywh'n'] n.: "young one, a youth"; <i>juwānān</i> pl.: 4:50. |

K

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| <i>ka</i> | [AMT] conj.: "if, when": 1:5, 1:8, 1:11, 3:2, 3:2, 3:3, 3:3, 3:23, 3:29, 4:16, 4:19, 4:29, 4:30, 4:32, 4:60, 5:8, 6:3, 6:4, 6:8, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:11, 6:13, 6:13, 7:1, 7:2, 7:6, 7:6, 7:7, 7:8, 7:16, 7:16, 7:33, 7:36, 7:39, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4, 9:9, 9:10, 9:11, 9:12, 9:15; <i>ka-š</i> : 5:4. |
| <i>kahas</i> | [kts] n.: "channel": 4:61. |
| <i>kam</i> | [km] adj.: "little, less, small, few": 4:20, 4:22, 4:22, 4:47, 4:47, 4:48, 4:48, 4:48; <i>kamtar</i> compar.: 4:16, 4:47, 5:7. |
| <i>kandan, kan</i> | [HPLWN-t'n'] vh.: "to raze, to destroy": <i>be kan</i> : 7:36; <i>be kanēd</i> : 7:37; <i>be kanēnd</i> : 4:9, 4:12, 7:26. |
| <i>kangdiz</i> | [kngdc] p. n.: "Kangdiz": 7:19, 7:20. |
| <i>kanīg</i> | [knyk'] n.: "maid": <i>kanīgān</i> pl.: 7:6. |
| <i>kanīhistan, kanīh-</i> | [HPLWN-yhstn'] vh.: "to be razed, to be destroyed": <i>kanīhēd</i> : 5:9. |
| <i>karb</i> | [klp] n.: "karh, priest hostile to Zoroaster": 3:3, 3:3. |
| <i>kardan, kun-</i> | [OBYDOWN-t'n', krt'n'] vh.: "to do, to make, to perform": <i>kard</i> : 2:1, 2:4, 3:6, 7:19, 7:20, 7:32, 7:32; <i>kardan</i> : 3:3, 4:31, 4:42, 9:16; <i>kun</i> : 9:5; <i>kunam</i> : 4:2, 9:23; <i>kunēh</i> : 9:18; <i>kunēd</i> : 3:24, 3:24, 3:25, 3:27, 4:31, 5:11, 9:16, 9:16, 9:18; <i>kunēnd</i> : 4:10, 4:10, 4:11, 4:40, 4:40, 4:40, 4:51, 4:51, 4:62, 4:63, 7:12, 9:10, 9:21; <i>abāz kun</i> : 9:18; <i>abāz kunēd</i> : 9:24; <i>be kun</i> : 4:67; <i>be kunam</i> : 3:3; <i>be kunēh</i> : 3:2, 3:2; <i>warm kard ēstēd</i> : "will have learned by heart": 5:3; <i>yašt kardan</i> : "to perform worship, to celebrate": <i>yašt kard</i> : 5:3; <i>yašt kard ēstēd</i> : 4:32, 5:4; <i>gird kunēnd</i> : "they will gather": 4:62; <i>wāng kardan</i> : "to |

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| | cry, to cry out": <i>wāng kunēd</i> : 7:31, 7:32, 7:36, 9:2, 9:5, 9:6; <i>wāng kunēnd</i> : 7:20. |
| <i>kardārtar</i> | [krt'rt] adj. compar.: "the more active, the most active": 3:2. |
| <i>karmūr</i> | [klm'yl] adj., p. n.: "Karmūr (Hyōn), red, crimson": 6:6. |
| <i>karmūr-hyōn</i> | [klm'yl hywn] p. n.: "Karmūr-Hyōn, Red Huns": 4:58. |
| <i>karzang</i> | [klng] p. n.: "Cancer": 6:10. |
| <i>kawādān</i> | [kw't'n] p. n.: "son of Kawād, patronymic of Husraw": 1:10, 2:2, 3:28. |
| <i>kay</i> | [ky] n., adj.: "kay, title of the Kayanian dynasty, lord": 3:24, 7:4, 7:6, 7:6, 7:7, 7:8; <i>kayān</i> : "Kayanid": 7:4, 7:19, 7:20, 9:9; <i>kay-ēw</i> : 7:4, 7:5; <i>kay-šāh</i> : "Kayanid king" 1:9. |
| <i>kayānsē</i> | [ky'nsyh] p. n.: "(lake) Kayānsē": 7:2. |
| <i>kābulīg</i> | [k'pwlyk'] adj., n.: "Kābulīg, (people) of Kābul": 4:58. |
| <i>kāstan, kāh-</i> | [k'stn', k'h-] vb.: "to decrease, to diminish": <i>be kāhēd</i> : 4:18, 4:19, 4:19, 4:46, 4:64. |
| <i>kālbod</i> | [k'lpwt] n.: "body": 1:8, 3:23. |
| <i>kām</i> | [k'm] n.: "will": col. |
| <i>kāmag</i> | [k'mk] n.: "wish, desire": 4:58, 7:5. |
| <i>kāmagīhā</i> | [k'mkyh'] adv.: "willingly": 9:10. |
| <i>kāmgār</i> | [k'mk'l] adj.: "powerful": 4:42. |
| <i>kār</i> | [k'l] n.: "action, deed": 4:31; <i>kār ud kirbag</i> : "good deeds": 4:22, 4:25, 5:11. |
| <i>kārd</i> | [k'lt'] n.: "knife": 9:12. |
| <i>kārezār</i> | [k'lyc'l] n.: "battle(-field)": 6:9, 7:12. |
| <i>kāūs</i> | [k'hws] p. n.: "Kāūs": 6:8. |
| <i>kāwulistān</i> | [k'wlst'n] p. n.: "Kāwulistan": 7:2. |
| <i>keresāsp</i> | [kls'sp] p. n.: "Keresāsp": 9:20, 9:21. |
| <i>kē</i> | [MNW] rel. pron.: "who, which": <i>passim</i> ; <i>kē-š</i> : 3:2, 5:4. |
| <i>kēn</i> | [kyn'] n.: "hate": 8:2, 9:14. |
| <i>kilīsāyīg</i> | [klsy'kyk] adj.: "ecclesiastic, standard epithet of Šēdāsp, once used of Alexander": 3:26, 6:3, 6:5, 6:6. |
| <i>kirb</i> | [klp] n.: "body, form": 3:6, 3:13, 9:15; <i>rōsn kirb</i> : 7:24. |
| <i>kirbag</i> | [krpk'] n.: <i>kār ud kirbag</i> : "good deeds": 4:22, 4:25, 5:11. |
| <i>kirbakkār</i> | [krpk'kl] n.: "beneficent one": 4:34. |
| <i>kirmān</i> | [klm'n] p. n.: "Kirmān, Kirmānis": <i>kirmān-iz</i> : 7:10. |
| <i>kirrōg</i> | [klwk] adj.: "skilled": 9:12. |

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| <i>kirs</i> | [krs] adj.: "thin": 3:15, 4:68, 4:68. |
| <i>kišwar</i> | [kyšwl] n.: "continent": 3:9, 9:5. |
| <i>kōdaktar</i> | [kwtktl] adj. compar.: "smaller": 4:20, 4:47. |
| <i>kōf</i> | [kwp] n.: "mount, mountain": 9:14. |
| <i>kōfestān</i> | [kwps'tn] n.: "mountain area, mountain district": 7:9. |
| <i>kōf-mānīšn</i> | [kwp m'nšn] adj.: "dwelling in the mountains": 6:10. |
| <i>kōfyār</i> | [kwp'y'l] (p.) n.: "Kōfyār, mountaineer": 4:58. |
| <i>kulāh</i> | [kwl'h] n.: "cap": 6:3. |
| <i>kurd</i> | [klt] n.: "Kurd": <i>kurd-iz</i> : 7:10. |
| <i>kust</i> | [kwst] n.: "side, district": 4:27, 4:55, 7:2, 7:3. |
| <i>kustag</i> | [kwstk] n.: "side": 4:4, 7:10. |
| <i>kustīg</i> | [kwstyk] n.: "kusti, sacred girdle": 4:49, 5:1, 5:2, 7:11. |
| <i>kū</i> | [AYK] conj.: "that, than, where, since; introducing direct speech": <i>passim</i> ; <i>kū-m</i> : 1:5; <i>kū-š</i> : 3:5; <i>kū-t</i> : 3:14. |
| <i>kūnmarz</i> | [kwnmrc] n.: "(acts of) sodomy": 4:63. |

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| <i>ma</i> | [AL] adv.: "not (prohibitive)": 2:3, 2:3, 6:12, 6:13. |
| <i>madan</i> | [mntn'] vb.: "to come"; <i>abar mad ēstēd</i> : "will have been established": 4:49. |
| <i>magas</i> | [mks] n.: "fly": <i>magas-ēw</i> : 4:60. |
| <i>may</i> | [mk] n.: "pit (of the baršnūm-gāh)": 4:29. |
| <i>mahist</i> | [mhst] adj. superl.: "supreme, greatest": 8:6. |
| <i>man</i> | [L] pers. pron. 1 sg.: "I, me": 1:6, 1:8, 3:2, 3:2, 3:21, 3:23, 3:25, 4:6, 4:7, 4:9, 4:12, 4:38, 4:58, 5:6, 6:2, 6:2, 6:5, 6:6, 6:10, 6:10, 6:12, 6:12, 7:3, 7:17, 7:19, 7:19, 7:20, 7:22, 7:27, 7:29, 7:36, 7:37, 7:39, 8:1, 9:1, 9:20. |
| <i>marag</i> | [mlk] n.: "number": 7:1, 7:10, 7:11. |
| <i>maragīh</i> | [mlkyh] n.: "number(s)": <i>pad was maragīh</i> : "in great numbers": 6:6. |
| <i>mard</i> | [GBRA] n.: "man": 4:28, 4:31, 7:22, 7:24, 8:7; <i>mardān</i> pl.: 5:2; <i>mard-ēw</i> : 4:32, 4:60, 7:15. |
| <i>mardōm</i> | [ANŠWTA, mltwm] n.: "man, mankind, people": 4:13, 4:20, 4:21, 4:41, 4:49, 4:53, 4:55, 5:6, 5:7, 6:5, 6:10, 9:4, 9:7, 9:10, 9:12, 9:14, 9:16; <i>mardōmān</i> pl.: 3:2, 3:9, 3:24, 4:26, 4:40. |
| <i>margīh</i> | [mlgyh] n.: "death, mortality": 4:49, 4:64, 9:12. |

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| <i>narw</i> | [mlw'] p. n.: "Marw": 7:13. |
| <i>varz</i> | [mlc] n.: "march": 4:61. |
| <i>mayān</i> | [mdy'n] n.: "middle, waist": 4:49, 5:1, 5:2. |
| <i>nazdak</i> | [mzdk] p. n.: "Mazdak": 2:1, 3:28. |
| <i>ādag</i> | [NKB] n., adj.: "female"; <i>mādagān</i> pl.: 5:11; <i>mādag-iz</i> : 5:11. |
| <i>mādar</i> | [m'tt] n.: "mother": 4:15. |
| <i>āh</i> | [BYRH] n.: "month": 4:16, 4:64, 7:6. |
| <i>āhdād</i> | [m'hd't] p. n.: "Māhdād": 2:2. |
| <i>āhīg</i> | [m'hyk] n.: "Pisces": 6:10. |
| <i>māhwindād</i> | [m'hwnd't] p. n.: "Māhwindād": 6:3. |
| <i>ālīdan, māl-</i> | [m'lytn', m'l-] vb.: "to rub": <i>abāz mālīd</i> : 3:13. |
| <i>ān</i> | [m'n] n.: "house": 4:7. |
| <i>nāndan, mān-</i> | [KTLWN-tn'; m'n-] vb.: "to stay, to remain, to inhabit, to dwell": <i>mānēnd</i> : 6:5; <i>be mānēd</i> : 6:10. |
| <i>ānīg</i> | [m'nyk'] adj., n.: "belonging to the house, household member": <i>mānīgān</i> : 4:7. |
| <i>nāzdēs</i> | [m'zd(y)sn] adj., n.: "Mazda-worshipping, Mazda-worshipper": <i>māzdēsān</i> pl.: dox., 3:2, 4:7, 4:53, 5:5, 6:1, 7:28, 8:6, 9:4, 9:7. |
| <i>nenišn</i> | [mynšn'] vbl. n.: "thought": 3:4. |
| <i>enīdan, mēn-</i> | [mynyt'n, myn-] vb.: "to think": <i>menīd</i> : 3:5. |
| <i>ēnōg</i> | [mynwk] n.: "spirit": 3:27, 7:22; <i>mēnōg ī abzōnīg</i> : epithet of Ohrmazd: 3:6, 3:15, 4:1, 5:1, 6:1, 7:1; <i>gannāg mēnōg</i> : "the Evil/Foul Spirit": 4:66, 7:18, 7:26, 7:31, 7:33, 7:35, 8:5; <i>mēnōgān</i> pl.: 1:5, 7:27; <i>mēnōgihā</i> pl.: 7:21. |
| <i>ēš</i> | [myš] n.: "sheep": 8:3. |
| <i>mīhr</i> | [mtr'] p. n.: "Mīhr, Mithra": 7:28, 7:31, 7:31, 7:32, 7:34, 7:36, 9:5. |
| <i>īhr</i> | [mtr'] n.: "contract, bond": 4:13, 4:15. |
| <i>īzd</i> | [mzd] n.: "reward": 5:11. |
| <i>nowbed</i> | [mgwpt] n.: "mobad, Mazdean priest"; <i>mawbedān mawbed</i> : "Mobadān Mobad, title of the High priest": 8:1. |
| <i>ow-mard</i> | [mw(g)mlt] n.: "Mazdean priest, magus": <i>maw-mardān</i> pl.: 4:34, 4:35, 4:36. |
| <i>uōy</i> | [mwd] n.: "hair(s)": 3:9, 4:47. |
| <i>īhr</i> | [mwdl] n.: "seal": 4:37. |

murdan, mīr-
murw

[YMYTWN-tn'] vb.: "to die": *mīrēnd*: 9:12.
[mwrw] n.: "bird": *murw-ēw*: 4:21.

N

namak
nar
nasā

nasā-kadag
nasā-nīgānīh

[nmk] n.: "salt"; *nān ud namak*: "hospitality": 4:20.
[ZKL] n., adj.: "male": *narān* pl.: 5:11; *nar-iz*: 5:11.
[ns'y] n.: "dead matter, carrion, corpse": 4:24, 4:24, 4:24, 4:24, 4:28, 4:28, 4:29.
[ns'y ktk] n.: "house of dead matter": 4:30.
[ns'y nk'nyh] n.: "(condition of) burying dead matter": 4:23.

nasā-wistarišn
nawad
nazdist
nazdīk
nām
nān
nē
nēk
nēm
nērang
nērangestān

[ns'y wstlšn] adj.: "spreading dead matter": 4:23.
[90] num.: "ninety": 4:19.
[nzdst] adv.: "first": 7:2.
[nzdyk] adj.: "near": 9:9.
[ŠM] n.: "name, fame": 4:39, 7:5.
[LHMA] n.: "bread"; *nān ud namak*: "hospitality": 4:20.
[LA] adv.: "no, not": *passim*.
[nywk] adj.: "good": 4:34, 4:54, 4:60.
[nym] n.: "half": *nēm-ēw*: 9:5.
[nylng] n.: "Nērang, ritual direction, spell": 7:24.
[nylngst'n] p. n.: "Nērangestān, the Avestan code of ritual prescriptions": 4:32, 7:24.
[nylwk] n.: "power, strength": 4:20, 4:48, 7:28; *nērōgtar* adj. compar.: "more powerful": 9:11.

nērōg

nērōg-kār-zanišn

[nylwk k'l znšn] adj.: "of mighty blows, striking strongly": 4:4.

nēryōsang
nēst
nēst-frazand
nēstīh
nēst-xīr

[nylywsng] p. n.: "Nēryōsang": 7:19, 7:20, 9:20, 9:21.
[LOYT] vb., 3 sg. pres. neg.: "is not": 4:11.
[LOYT przd] adj.: "childless, without offspring": 3:17.
[LOYTyh] n.: "non-existence, nought": 4:7, 4:31, 4:31, 4:56.
[LOYT CBW] adj.: "having nothing, lacking everything": 3:16.

nibēsīhistan, nibēsīh-
nīdom
nīdom-bunīg

[YKTYBWNyh-ystn'] vb.: "to be written": *nibēsīhēd*: dox.
[nytwm] adj. superl.: "lowest, least": 4:3, 4:28, 4:31.
[nytwm bwnyk] adj.: "of lowest stock": 4:4, 4:26.

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| <i>nīdom-tōhmag</i> | [nytwm twhm̩k] adj.: "of very mean stock": 4:4. |
| <i>nigānīdan</i> | [nk'nytn'] vb.: "to bury": <i>nigānīdan</i> : 4:24. |
| <i>nigerīdan, niger-</i> | [nkylytn', nkyl-] vb.: "to look, to observe": <i>abar nigerēnd</i> : "will consider": 4:39. |
| <i>nihang</i> | [nhng] adj.: "few, small": 6:10; <i>nihangtar</i> : [nhngtl, nsngtl] compar.: 4:16, 4:17. |
| <i>nihādag</i> | [nh'tk] n.: "foundation": 4:51. |
| <i>nihādan, nih-</i> | [HNHTWN-tn'] vb.: "to put, to place": <i>be nihēd</i> : 4:28, 4:29. |
| <i>nihān</i> | [nyh'n] n.: "concealment, secrecy": 2:3; <i>nihān kunēnd</i> : "they will hide": 4:62. |
| <i>nihān-rawišnīh</i> | [nyh'n lwbšnyh] n.: "hiding": 1:8, 3:23. |
| <i>nīmūdan, nīmāy-</i> | [nmwtn', nm'd-] vb.: "to show": <i>nīmāyēd</i> : 6:4, 7:6; <i>nīmāyēd</i> : "it seems": 1:5; <i>be (ō ...) nīmūd</i> : "showed (to ...)": 1:2. |
| <i>nīrfs-</i> | [nlps-] vb.: "to wane, to decrease": <i>be nīrfsēd</i> : 8:2. |
| <i>nīšān</i> | [nys'n] n.: "sign": 6:4, 6:6, 7:2, 7:6, 7:6. |
| ¹ <i>nīšānag</i> | [nys'nk] n.: "sign": 6:3, 6:4. |
| ² <i>nīšānag</i> | [nys'nk] p. n.: "(plain of) Nišānag, (Plain of) the Sign": 6:10, 7:12. |
| <i>nīšāstan, nīšān-</i> | [YTYBWN-stn', nš'stn'] vb.: "to seat, to set": <i>nīšāst</i> 7:24; <i>nīšāst ēstēd</i> : 4:7; <i>nīšānēnd</i> : 8:4; <i>abar nīšāst</i> : 9:10. |
| <i>nīšēmag</i> | [nšdmk] n.: "residence, abode": 6:5, 7:26, 7:36, 7:37. |
| <i>nīxwār-</i> | [nswb'l] vb.: "to hasten": <i>nīxwārēnd</i> : 7:15. |
| <i>nīyāz</i> | [nyd'c] n.: "indigence, need": 4:54, 6:4, 8:2. |
| <i>nīyāzōmandīh</i> | [nyd'c'wmndyh] n.: "poverty": 4:64. |
| <i>nīzār</i> | [nz'l] adj.: "weak, feeble": 3:15, 4:68, 4:68, 9:10. |
| <i>nīzārth</i> | [nz'lyh] n.: "weakness, feebleness": 4:31, 4:31. |
| <i>nīzīm</i> | [nyzm] n.: "fog, haze": 4:43, 6:4, 6:4. |
| <i>nō</i> | [9] num.: "nine": 4:55, 5:6, 7:32, 9:14. |
| <i>nūn</i> | [KON] adv.: "now": 7:32, 9:14. |

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| <i>ohrmazd</i> | [ʰwhrmzd] p. n.: "Ohrmazd": <i>passim</i> . |
| <i>ohrmazd-xradīh</i> | [ʰwhrmzd hltyh] n.: "wisdom of Ohrmazd": 3:8. |
| <i>owōn</i> | [ʰwgwn] adv., conj.: "as, so": 4:28; <i>owōn čiyōn</i> : 5:4. |
| <i>ō</i> | [OL] prep.: "to, at": <i>passim</i> ; <i>ō abar</i> : "upwards to, to": 9:14; |

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| <i>ōbārdan, ōbār-</i> | <i>be ō</i> : "except at": 9:12; <i>ō pēš</i> : "before, fore-": 3:20, 4:65, 8:8, 9:8; <i>ō (...)</i> <i>rōn</i> : "to, towards" 9:14. |
| <i>ōš</i> | [ʰwp'lt'n, 'wp'l-] vb.: "to swallow, to devour": <i>abāz ōbārēd</i> : 9:16, 9:16. |
| <i>ušēdar</i> | [ʰwš] n.: "death": 6:2, 6:2, 6:12, 6:12. |
| | [ʰwšyt] p. n.: "Ušēdar": 7:2, 7:4, 9:1, 9:5, 9:5, 9:6; <i>ušēdarān</i> : "of Ušēdar": 8:8. |
| <i>ušēdarmāh</i> | [ʰwšytlm'h] p. n.: "Ušēdarmāh": 9:11, 9:11; <i>ušēdarmāhān</i> : "of Ušēdarmāh": 9:12. |
| <i>ōy</i> | [OLE] pers., dem. pron. 3 sg.: "he, she, it, that (all cases); pl. <i>awēšān</i> ": dox., 3:2, 4:21, 4:66, 7:4, 7:6, 7:6, 7:7, 7:39, 9:9. |
| <i>ōzadan, ōzad-</i> | [YKTLWN-tn'] vb.: "to kill": <i>ōzanēd</i> : 9:22; <i>ōzanēnd</i> : 4:60, 9:12; <i>be ōzanēd</i> : 9:18; <i>be ōzanēnd</i> : 6:6, 7:11, 7:15. |

P

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| <i>pad</i> | [PWN] prep.: "to, at, on, in, by, through": <i>passim</i> . |
| <i>padīš</i> | [ptš] postp., telep.: "to/on (him, her, it, them) etc.": 1:3, 1:3, 1:5, 3:19, 4:31, 4:38, 4:38, 4:40, 4:51, 6:5. |
| <i>padīšxwārgar</i> | [pt(y)šhw'lg] p. n.: "Padīšxwārgar": 5:9, 6:10, 6:10, 7:9, 7:10. |
| <i>padīrag</i> | [ptylk] prep.: "towards, against": 9:22. |
| <i>padīriftan, padīr-</i> | [MKBLWN-tn'; ptgl-] vb.: "to receive, to accept": <i>padīrēd</i> : 9:1, 9:10, 9:10; <i>padīrē</i> : 6:9; <i>padīrēnd</i> : 4:40; <i>be padīrift</i> : 3:2; <i>be padīrēd</i> : 1:8, 3:23. |
| <i>pad-kār</i> | [PWN k'l] adj.: "necessary, effective": 4:22, 9:12. |
| <i>pahikārdan, pahikār-</i> | [ptk'l-tn', ptk'l-] vb.: "to dispute, to contend with, to fight, to battle": <i>pahikārēd</i> : 3:25; <i>pahikārēnd</i> : 6:9. |
| <i>pahikōftan, pahikōb-</i> | [ptkwptn', ptkwp-] vb.: "to strike": <i>pahikōbēd</i> : 9:22. |
| <i>pahlom</i> | [p'hlm] adj.: "best, excellent, foremost": 5:2, 5:5. |
| ¹ <i>pahrēxtan, pahrēz-</i> | [p'hlyhtn', p'hlyc-] vb.: "to care for": <i>abāz ō ēk pahrēzēnd</i> : "they will care <only> for one": 4:31. |
| ² <i>pahrēxtan, pahrēz-</i> | [p'hlyhtn', p'hlyc-] vb.: "to refrain from": <i>pahrēzēnd</i> : 4:24. |
| <i>pahrēz</i> | [p'hlyc] n.: "care, defence": 3:23. |
| <i>panj</i> | [5] num.: "five": 4:40. |
| <i>panjāh</i> | [50] num.: "fifty": 7:22, 7:24, 8:7. |
| <i>parīg</i> | [plyk] n.: "parīg, witch": 8:6. |
| <i>parwardan, parwar-</i> | [plwtn', plwl-] vb.: "to foster, to nourish, to educate": |

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| 25 | <i>parwarēnd</i> : 7:6. [AHL, ps] adv.: "then, after, afterwards": 1:2, 6:3, 6:12, 7:15, 7:23, 7:32, 9:11, 9:13, 9:15, 9:16, 9:17, 9:20, 9:21, 9:23, 9:24. |
| <i>asēn</i> | [psyn'] adj.: "final, last": <i>tan ī pasēn</i> : "Final Body": 3:3, 4:67, 9:24. |
| <i>assāxtag</i> | [ps'htk] n.: "test, procedure": 3:25. |
| <i>ašt</i> | [pšt] n.: "pact, agreement": 4:11, 4:11; <i>pašt-ēw</i> : 7:32. |
| <i>ydāg</i> | [pyt'k] adj.: "clear, revealed, visible": 1:1, 2:1, 3:1, 3:23, 3:25, 4:5, 6:4, 6:10, 7:2, 7:6, 7:10, 7:11, 7:19, 8:1, 9:1. |
| <i>paydāgih</i> | [pyt'kyh] n.: "appearance, visibility": 2:1, 4:7, 4:57, 7:2, 7:10, 9:9. |
| <i>ymān</i> | [ptm'n] n.: "agreement, treaty": 2:3, 2:4, 4:7, 4:11, 7:32. |
| <i>aywand</i> | [ptwnd] n.: "offspring": 2:3. |
| <i>ādāšn</i> | [p'td'sh] n.: "retribution": 4:52, 5:11. |
| <i>ādixā</i> | [ŠLYTA] adj.: "allowed, permitted, authorized": 4:30, 4:31, 4:32; "ruler(s)" in the phrase <i>pad ērān dehān ī man <ohrmazd dād> pādixā bawēnd</i> : "They will be rulers over these <i>Ērān</i> ian lands which I, <i>Ohrmazd</i> , have created": 4:58. |
| <i>ādixšāyih</i> | [ŠLYTAyh, p'thš(d)'yh] n.: "authority, sovereignty": 4:26, 4:36, 4:58, 4:59, 6:3, 6:4. |
| <i>dyābīh</i> | [p'ty'pyh] n.: "ritual purity": 4:27. |
| <i>lūdan, pālāy-</i> | [p'lwt'n, p'l'd-] vb.: "to purify": <i>pālāyēd</i> : 3:24. |
| <i>pārs</i> | [p'ls] p. n.: "Pārs": 6:9, 6:10, 7:9, 7:13. |
| <i>y</i> | [p'dy] n.: "foot": 4:29. |
| <i>zand</i> | [p'cnd] n.: "Pāzand, the Pahlavi commentaries on the scriptures transcribed in Avestan letters": 4:67. |
| <i>enīh</i> | [pnyh] n.: "meanness": 4:25. |
| <i>tyārag</i> | [pty(d)'lk'] n.: "evil, misfortune, adversary": 2:1, 4:39, 4:67, 5:7, 7:23, 7:25, 9:23. |
| <i>rōz-baxt</i> | [pylwc bht] adj.: "(of) victorious fate": 3:25. |
| <i>rōzgar</i> | [pylwckl] adj.: "victorious": 7:24, 7:28, 7:37, 9:9, 9:22. |
| <i>rōzgarīh</i> | [pylwcklyh] n.: "victory": 9:10, 9:22. |
| <i>-š</i> | [LOYN'] prep.: "before (temporal and spatial)": 2:2, 3:20, 4:65, 5:10, 7:38, 8:8, 9:8, 9:15, 9:17. |
| <i>šēnag</i> | [pyšynk] n.: "ancestor": <i>pēšēnagān</i> pl.: 4:51. |

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| <i>pēšgāhīh</i> | [pyšg'syh] n.: "front rank, foremost seat": 4:36. |
| <i>pēšyār-wiš</i> | [pyšk'l wyš] adj.: "venom-pissing": 4:4. |
| <i>pid</i> | [AB'] n.: "father": 4:15, 7:4. |
| <i>pidar</i> | [ABYtl] n.: "father": 7:6. |
| <i>pišōtan</i> | [pyšswtn'] p. n.: "Pišōtan": 3:2, 7:19, 7:20, 7:22, 7:22, 7:24, 7:26, 7:26, 7:27, 7:29, 7:36, 7:37, 7:39, 8:6, 8:7, 9:9, 9:11. |
| <i>pīm-menišn</i> | [pym mynšn'] adj.: "sorrow-minded, having sorrowful thoughts": 4:50. |
| <i>pōlāwadēn</i> | [pwl'ptyn] adj.: "of steel": 1:3, 1:10, 3:19, 3:28. |
| <i>pōst</i> | [pwst'] n.: "skin, hide": 4:47, 7:14. |
| <i>purr</i> | [MALE, pwl] adj.: "full": 4:62, 9:14. |
| <i>purr-xwarrahīh</i> | [pwl GDEyh] n.: "fullness of xwarrah": 8:1. |
| <i>pursīdan, purs-</i> | [pwsytn', pws-] vb.: "to ask": <i>pursīd</i> : 5:1, 6:1, 7:1. |
| <i>pus</i> | [BRE] n.: "son": 4:15. |
| <i>pušt</i> | [pwšt] n.: "back, support, protection": 3:9, 4:4, 7:14, 7:18, 7:29. |

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| <i>rad</i> | [lt] n.: "Rad, spiritual master": 9:11. |
| <i>rasīdan, ras-</i> | [YHMTWN-t'n; ls-] vb.: "to arrive": <i>rasēd</i> : 1:7, 3:22, 4:3, 4:7, 4:7, 4:31, 4:31, 4:33, 4:44, 4:56, 4:57, 4:58, 4:61, 4:61, 5:9, 5:9, 6:3, 6:10, 6:10, 7:3, 7:6, 7:8, 7:8, 7:18, 7:27, 9:1; <i>rasēnd</i> : 4:54, 7:11, 7:26, 7:29; <i>abar rasēd</i> : 7:16, 7:37; <i>be rasēnd</i> (ō): 6:6; <i>be</i> (ō ...) <i>rasēd</i> : 4:59, 9:9; <i>be</i> (ō ...) <i>rasēnd</i> : 4:36, 4:36, 4:36; <i>frāz rasīdan</i> : "to arrive, to come forth": <i>frāz rasēd</i> : 7:39, 8:1, 8:7, 8:7; <i>frāz rasēnd</i> : 6:6. |
| <i>rašn</i> | [lšn'] p. n.: "Rašn": 7:28. |
| <i>raftan, raw-</i> | [SGYTWN-t'n] vb.: "to go, to move": <i>raw</i> : 7:36; <i>rawēd</i> : 4:22, 4:28, 4:29, 5:1, 5:5, 7:20, 7:27; <i>rawēnd</i> : 4:61, 9:10; <i>abar rawēnd</i> : 7:21; <i>be raw</i> : 9:5, 9:6; <i>be rawēd</i> : 9:7; <i>frāz raftan</i> : "to go forth, to proceed": <i>frāz raw</i> : 7:19, 7:20, 7:20; <i>frāz rawēd</i> : 7:22, 7:24, 7:26; <i>frāz rawēnd</i> : 4:26, 4:53; <i>ul rawēnd</i> : "they will go forth": 7:22. |
| <i>rawāg</i> | [lwb'k] adj.: "current": 3:24, 3:25, 4:58; <i>rawāgtar</i> compar.: "more active": 9:11. |
| <i>rawišn</i> | [lwbšn] vbl. n.: "movement": 6:5. |

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| <i>rawišnīh</i> | [lwbšnyh] n.: "behaviour": 4:53. |
| <i>razūr</i> | [lcwl] n.: "forest": <i>spēd razūr</i> : 6:9, 7:12. |
| <i>rād</i> | [l't] adj.: "liberal, generous": <i>rādān</i> pl.: 8:6, 8:6. |
| <i>rāh</i> | [l's] n.: "path, road": 4:17, 4:25, 4:53, 6:2. |
| <i>rāmīšn</i> | [l'mšn] vbl. n.: "peace, gaiety, ease": 3:27, 4:7, 4:50, col. |
| <i>rāst</i> | [l'st] adj.: "true": 4:37, 4:37, 7:19, 7:20, 7:28, 8:1; <i>rāstān</i> pl.: 4:37, 8:6, 8:6; <i>rāsttar</i> compar.: "more direct": 4:16. |
| <i>rāstīh</i> | [l'styh] n.: "truth": 3:25, 4:11, 7:31. |
| <i>īy</i> | [l'd] postp.: "on account of, for" 4:25, 4:63, 4:67, 4:67, 5:11, 9:13, 9:14; "about": 8:1, 9:1; "to, for, of": dox., 6:4; <i>ēk ō did</i> rāy: "one of the other, of one another": 4:13, 4:39, 4:40; marking the direct object: 7:8. |
| <i>rāyēnūdan, rāyēn-</i> | [l'dynyt'n, l'dyn-] vb.: "to organize": <i>rāyēnēnd</i> : 6:4. |
| <i>rāyēnūdarīh</i> | [l'dynyt'lyh] n.: "direction, organization": 4:36, 7:28. |
| <i>rāyōmand</i> | [l'd'wmnd] adj.: "majestic": dox. |
| <i>rēšag</i> | [lyšk] n.: "root": 3:10. |
| <i>istag</i> | [lystk] n.: "sect": 4:53. |
| <i>istāxēz</i> | [lyst'hyc] n.: "Resurrection of the Dead, Ristāxēz": 3:3, 9:24. |
| <i>ōd</i> | [lwt] n.: "river": 4:61, 6:5, 7:7, 7:39; <i>rōdān</i> pl.: 4:46. |
| <i>ōn</i> | [lwn] n.: "direction"; <i>ō</i> (...) <i>rōn</i> circumsp.: "to, towards": 9:14. |
| <i>īstāg</i> | [lwst'k] n.: "province": 4:8. |
| <i>īan</i> | [lwšn'] p. n.: "Rōšan": 6:3. |
| <i>īšn</i> | [lwšn'] adj.: "light, bright, clear": 4:2; <i>rōšn kirb</i> : 7:24; <i>rōšnitar</i> compar.: 4:64. |
| <i>ōy</i> | [lwd] n.: "copper": 3:25, 4:57. |
| <i>ōyēn</i> | [lwdyn'] adj.: "of copper, brazen": 3:19, 3:25. |
| <i>ōz</i> | [YWM] n.: "day": 4:16, 4:64, 6:13, 7:6. |
| <i>ōz-šabān</i> | [YWM šp'n] n. pl.: "day(s) and night(s)": 3:8, 3:11, 9:3. |
| <i>ustan, rōy-</i> | [lwstn', lwd-] vb.: "to grow": <i>rust ēstēd</i> : 3:10. |
| <i>awān</i> | [lwb'n] n.: "soul": 3:15, 3:16, 4:67, 4:68, 4:68, 4:68. |
| <i>uwān-dōstīh</i> | [lwb'n dwstyh] n.: "piety": 4:14. |

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[spwkyh] n.: "indifference": 4:56.

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| <i>sad</i> | [100] num.: "hundred": 4:19, 4:31. |
| <i>sadgānag</i> | [1 100 k'nk, st k'nk] numer. adj.: "(one) hundred times, (one) hundredfold": 6:5, 6:6. |
| <i>sadōzam</i> | [stwmz] n.: "century": 1:11, 3:29, 4:1, 4:16, 4:41, 4:67, 6:13. |
| <i>sahistan, sah-</i> | [MDMEN'-stn'] vb.: "to seem, to seem proper": <i>sahist</i> : 3:4, 3:15, 3:16, 3:17, 3:18. |
| <i>samōr</i> | [smwl] n.: "sable": 7:22, 7:24, 8:7. |
| <i>sar</i> | [LOYŠE, sl] n.: "end": 1:11, 3:29, 3:29, 4:2, 4:16, 4:41, 5:8, 6:10, 6:13, 7:16, 8:8, 9:9, 9:10; "head, point": 9:22; <i>ud tāg tāg sar ō kū dārēd</i> : "and which way every single one pointed": 3:9. |
| <i>sard</i> | [slt'] adj.: "cold": 4:44, 7:16. |
| <i>sardag</i> | [sltk] n.: "sort, kind": <i>sardagān</i> pl.: 4:22. |
| <i>sarmān</i> | [slm'n] p. n.: <i>sarmān dehān</i> : "Sarmān countries": 6:3. |
| <i>saxt-āmār</i> | [s'ht 'm'l] adj.: "difficult to count": 6:5. |
| <i>saxttar</i> | [s'httl] adj. compar.: "harsher, harder": 4:64. |
| <i>saxwan</i> | [shwn] n.: "word(s)": 9:22. |
| <i>sāl</i> | [ŠNT] n.: "year": 4:16, 4:64, 5:6, 7:32, 7:32; 9:1, 9:14. |
| <i>sāmān</i> | [s'm'n] p. n.: "Sāmān, patronymic of Keresāsp": 9:20, 9:22. |
| <i>sāstārīh</i> | [s'st'lyh] n.: "tyranny": 4:9. |
| <i>sāxtan, sāz-</i> | [s'htn', s'c-] vb.: "to make, to prepare"; <i>frāz sāzēnd</i> : "to perform": 7:24, 7:37. |
| <i>sē</i> | [3] num.: "three": 4:40, 6:7, 6:7, 6:10, 7:12, 9:21. |
| <i>sē-ēk-ēw</i> | [3 'ywkl] num.: "one third": 4:64, 7:23, 7:25, 9:16. |
| <i>sēj</i> | [syc] n.: "danger": 4:64. |
| <i>sēstān</i> | [syst'n'] p. n.: "Sēstān": 7:9. |
| <i>sē-tōhmag</i> | [3 twhmk] adj.: "of the three seeds": <i>war ī sē-tōhmag</i> as p. n.: "lake of the three seeds": 7:13. |
| <i>sidīgar</i> | [stykl] ord. num.: "third": 6:10. |
| <i>sīh-sālag</i> | [30 ŠNTk] adj.: "thirty years old": 7:7. |
| <i>sīh-sālagīh</i> | [30 ŠNTkyh] n.: "age of thirty years": 7:3, 9:1. |
| <i>sōgand</i> | [swknd] n.: "oath"; <i>sōgand xwardan</i> : "to swear an oath": <i>sōgand</i> (...) <i>xwarēnd</i> : 4:38. |
| <i>sōšāns</i> | [swkš'ns] p. n.: "Sōšāns": 9:24. |
| <i>sōxtan, sōz-</i> | [swhtn, swc-] vb.: "to burn": <i>sōxtan</i> : 4:24; <i>sōzēnd</i> : 4:7. |
| <i>spandarmad</i> | [spndrmt'] p. n.: "Spandarmad": 3:10, 3:23, 4:17, 4:57, 4:64. |
| <i>spandyādān</i> | [spndy't'n] p. n.: "son of Spandyād, patronymic of |

Wahman": 3:24.

[spzɡ] adj.: "slanderous": *spazgān* pl.: 4:37.

[sp'h] n.: "army": 4:61, 6:6, 7:7, 7:10, 7:10, 7:14, 7:15.

[sp's] n.: "gratitude": 4:20.

[spyt] adj.: "white": 4:18, 6:9, 7:12, 7:14.

[spyt hywn] p. n.: "Spēd-Hyōn, White Huns": 4:58.

[spyt'm'n] p. n.: "of the Spitāma family, patronymic of Zarduxšt": 1:6, 1:11, 3:3, 3:5, 3:14, 3:20, 3:29, 3:29, 4:2, 4:5, 4:9, 4:13, 4:16, 4:26, 4:41, 4:49, 4:65, 4:67, 4:68, 5:2, 5:6, 5:8, 5:10, 6:3, 6:4, 6:7, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:13, 7:2, 7:3, 7:7, 7:16, 7:18, 8:8, 9:8.

[slwš] p. n.: "Srōš": 7:19, 7:20, 7:28, 9:20, 9:21.

[slwtn, sl'd-] vb.: "to recite, to chant": *srūd ēstēd*: 5:4.

[slwt' g's'n] n.: "chanter of the *Gāgās*": 5:4.

[YNSBWN-t'n] vb.: "to take": *stānēnd*: 4:47; *be stānēd*: 4:19; *abāz stad*: "took back": 3:11.

[sthm-p'thš'dyh] n.: "oppressive rule": 5:9.

[sthmbkyh] n.: "oppression": 9:10.

[sthmbktl] adj. compar.: "more oppressive, more obstinate": 4:66, 6:4.

[stlt'] adj.: "stunned": 7:33, 8:5.

[st'lk] n.: "star; used also for planet": 7:6, 7:6, 7:8.

[st'dšn'] vbl. n.: "praise": 5:1.

[st'dytn', st'd-] vb.: "to praise": *stāyīd ēstēd*: 4:53; *stāyēnd*: 7:37; *frāz stāyēnd*: 7:22.

[stwl] n.: "horse, mount, beast of burden": 4:47.

[stwbh] n.: "distress, defeat"; *pad stōwīh dwārēd*: "will be defeated": 7:34.

[stwtkl] p. n.: "Stūdgar (Nask), Sūdgar (Nask)": 1:1.

[swptyk] adj., n.: "Sogdian": 4:58.

[swmb'] n.: "hoof": 5:9.

[swlp] n.: "lead": 4:57.

[swhl] adj.: "red": 6:3, 6:3, 6:3, 6:5.

[swl'k m'nšn] adj.: "dwelling in holes/burrows": 6:10.

[syd'] adj.: "black": 4:4, 6:3, 7:2, 7:22, 7:24, 8:7.

[syd'whš] p. n.: "Syāwaxš": 7:19, 7:20.

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šab

šabēnīdan, šabēn-

šahr

šamšēr

šaš-sad

šābuhr

šādīh

šāh

šāyīstan, šāy-

šēd

šēdāsp

šīr

škaft

škastan, škenn-

škofit

škōh

škōhīh

šnāyīšn

šōy

šudan, šaw-

šustan, šōy-

[LYLYA] n.: "night": 4:64, 7:6, 7:16, 7:16.

[špynytn', špyn-] vb.: "to darken, to obscure": *šabēnēd*: 4:43.

[štr'] n.: "city": 4:8; *šahr-ēw*: 4:8.

[šmšyl] n.: "sword": 9:12.

[6 100] num.: "six hundred": 9:1.

[š(')hpwl] p. n.: "Šābuhr": 2:2, 3:25, 7:5.

[š'tyh] n.: "happiness, joy": col.

[MLKA, šh] n.: "king": 1:8, 3:23, 3:23, 3:25, 3:26, 3:27, 3:28, 5:2, 5:3, 5:4, 6:9, 7:6.

[š'dstn', š'(d)-] vb.: "to be able, to be possible": *šāyēd*: 3:3, 4:42; *šāyēm*: 9:18; *be šāyēnd*: 7:1.

[šyt'] adj.: "bright": *šēdān* pl.: *marw ī šēdān*: 7:13.

[šyt'sp] p. n.: "Šēdāsp": 6:3, 6:5, 6:6, 7:11.

[šyl] n.: "milk": 4:47.

[škpt'] adj.: "hard, difficult, distressing": 4:26, 5:1.

[TBLWN-t'n', škyn-] vb.: "to break, to shatter": *škennēd*: 7:25; *be škennē*: 7:36; *be škennēd*: 1:8, 3:23, 7:23, 7:39.

[škwt'] adj.: "hard, difficult, distressing": 4:49, 4:64, 5:2, 5:3, 5:6, 5:7, 6:2, 6:12; *škofttar* compar.: 5:6.

[škwh] adj., n.: "poor": 3:18, 4:68.

[škwhyh] n.: "poverty": 4:36.

[šn'dšn] vbl. n.: "praise": dox.

[šwd] n.: "husband": 6:11.

[OZLWN-t'n'] vb.: "to go": *šawēd*: 6:13, 7:4, 9:22; *šawēnd*: 9:21; *be šawēd*: 4:14, 4:15, 8:3, 9:23; *be šawēnd*: 4:54;

abaydāg šawēd: "go unseen, become invisible": 3:26.

[HLLWN-t'n', šwstn'] vb.: "to wash": *šustan*: 4:24; *šōyēd*: 4:29.

T

tabarestān

tagīg

tan

[tplt'n] p. n.: "Tabarestān": 7:9.

[tkyk] adj.: "swift, epithet of Srōš": 7:28.

[tn'] n.: "body": 3:3, 3:15, 4:67, 4:68, 4:68, 4:68, 9:20, 9:24;

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| <i>an-drustīh</i> | <i>tan ī pasēn</i> : "Final Body": 3:3, 4:67, 9:24. |
| <i>angīh</i> | [tn' drwstyh] n.: "health": dox. |
| <i>angtar</i> | [tngyh] n.: "distress": 6:4. |
| | [tngtl] adj. compar.: "tighter, narrower, more confined": 4:17. |
| <i>anuktar</i> | [tnwktl] adj. compar.: "thinner": 4:47. |
| <i>axt-gāh</i> | [t'ht g's] n.: "throne": 8:7. |
| <i>axtan, taz-</i> | [t'htn', tc-] vb.: "to flow": <i>tazam</i> : 9:19. |
| <i>ī</i> | [OD] prep., conj.: "until, up to (temporal)": 7:32; <i>tā ka</i> : 9:10, 9:15; "so that" (final): 4:31, 9:20, 9:23; "up to, so far as (spatial)": 6:5, 6:5, 7:7, 7:7, 7:15, 9:18. |
| <i>īg</i> | [t'k] numerative n.: "each": 4:48; <i>tāg tāg</i> : "single" 3:9; <i>čand tāg</i> : "how many". |
| <i>īr</i> | [t'l] n.: "darkness": 3:23, 3:27, 7:35. |
| <i>īrīg</i> | [t'lyk] adj.: "dark": 9:5. |
| <i>īrīgīh</i> | [t'lykyh] n.: "darkness, obscurity": 6:4. |
| <i>ixtan, tāz-</i> | [t'htn', t'c-] vb.: "to pour": <i>tāzēnd</i> : 6:5; <i>ul tāzēnd</i> : "they will pour forth, rush forth": 7:7. |
| <i>izišn</i> | [t'čšn'] vbl. n.: "pour, flow": 6:10, 7:7. |
| <i>izīg</i> | [t'cyk] adj., n.: "Tāzīg, Arab": 6:10, 9:10; <i>tāzīgān</i> pl.: 4:59. |
| <i>s</i> | [MNDOM] n.: "thing": 4:7, 4:54, 4:56. |
| <i>r</i> | [tyl] p. n.: "Tīr, Mercury": 6:4. |
| <i>n</i> | [t(w)m] n.: "darkness": 3:23, 3:27, 6:4, 7:35. |
| <i>n-tōhmag</i> | [twm twhmk] adj.: "of obscure stock"; <i>tom-tōhmagān</i> pl.: 7:30, 7:39, 8:5, 8:6. |
| | [LK] pers. pron. 2 sg.: "you": 1:6, 1:8, 1:11, 3:2, 3:2, 3:2, 3:3, 3:21, 3:22, 3:23, 3:29, 3:29, 4:2, 4:16, 4:41, 5:8, 6:9, 6:9, 6:10, 6:13, 7:31, 7:36, 9:14, 9:18. |
| <i>bīd</i> | [twpyt'] adj., n.: "Tōbīd, Tibetan(s)": 4:58. |
| <i>īm</i> | [twhm] n.: "seed": 4:18, 4:44. |
| <i>īhmag</i> | [twhmk] n.: "stock": 7:4. |
| <i>rk</i> | [twlk] adj., n.: "Turk(s)": 4:58, 6:6, 6:6, 6:10, 9:10. |
| <i>vān</i> | [twb'n] vb. with inf.: "to be possible to ..., to be able to...": <i>dāštan nē tuwān</i> : 4:27; <i>bōxtan nē tuwān</i> : 4:68; <i>be tuwān bōxtan</i> : 6:11. |
| <i>vānīg</i> | [twb'nyk] adj., n.: "powerful, able": 3:17. |
| <i>r</i> | [twl] adj., n.: "Tūr, Turanian": <i>brādarōš ī tūr</i> : 3:3, 3:3; |

frāsyāb ī tūr: 5:7, 7:32.

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| <i>u-</i> | [AP] conj.: "and" always followed by a suffixed personal pron.: <i>u-m</i> : 3:15, 3:16, 3:16, 3:17, 3:17, 3:18, 3:18, 3:19; <i>u-t</i> : 4:68; <i>u-š</i> : 1:3, 2:3, 3:2, 3:6, 3:6, 3:6, 3:7, 3:9, 3:10, 3:11, 3:13, 3:16, 4:5, 4:68, 5:5, 6:5, 7:5, 7:24, 9:22, 9:22; <i>u-šān</i> : 2:1, 4:11, 4:20, 4:20, 4:22, 4:22, 4:39, 4:50, 4:53, 5:1, 5:7, 5:9, 6:5, 7:14, 7:21, 9:14. |
| <i>ad</i> | [W] conj.: "and": <i>passim</i> . |
| <i>ul</i> | [LALA] prevb.: "up": <i>ul dwārēnd</i> : "they will creep forth": 4:6; <i>drafš ul gīrēnd</i> : "they will hold the banners up/high": 6:6, 7:7; <i>ul tāzēnd</i> : "they will rush forth, pour forth": 7:7; <i>ul ō bālist rasēd</i> : "will reach its exaltation": 7:8; <i>ul rawēnd</i> : "they will go forth": 7:22; <i>ul ēstādan</i> : "to stand (up)": <i>ul ēst</i> : 7:31; <i>ul ēstēd</i> : 9:15. |
| <i>ul-drafš</i> | [LALA dlpš] adj.: "having up banner(s), having the banner(s) up": 6:6. |
| <i>ul-grift-drafš</i> | [LALA glpt' dlpš] adj.: "having up-held banners(s), having raised banner(s)": 4:4, 7:7. |
| <i>urwar</i> | [wlwl] n.: "plant(s), vegetation": 3:23, 4:19, 9:16, 9:17; <i>urwarān</i> pl.: 3:10. |
| <i>usōfrīt</i> | [wswplyt'] n.: "offering": 4:51. |
| <i>uzdehīgīh</i> | [wodykyh] n.: "exile": 4:54. |
| <i>uzdēszār</i> | [wcdysc'l] n.: "idol temple, image shrine": 7:26, 7:26, 7:36, 7:37. |

W

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| <i>wad</i> | [SLYA] adj.: "bad, evil": 4:13, 4:39, 4:40; <i>wattar</i> [SLYtl] compar.: 9:10; <i>wattarān</i> pl.: 4:54, 6:4; <i>wattom</i> [wtwrm] superl.: 4:21. |
| <i>wad-hunartar</i> | [wt hwnltl] adj. compar.: "of worse skills, of inferior skills": 4:47. |
| <i>wad-tōhmag</i> | [wt twhmk] adj.: "of evil stock": <i>wad-tōhmagān</i> pl.: 7:26, 7:35; <i>wattar-tōhmagān</i> [SLYtl twhmk'n] compar. pl.: "those |

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| | of worse stock, those of least stock": 7:18. |
| ništ | [whšt'] n.: "paradise": 3:16, 4:68. |
| man | [whwmn] p. n.: "Wahman": <i>wahman yasn</i> : 2:1, 3:1; <i>wahman</i> ī <i>spandyādān</i> : 3:24. |
| uhrām | [w'hl'm] p. n.: "Wahrām": <i>wahrām gōr</i> : 3:27; <i>wahrām</i> ī <i>warzāwand</i> : 7:5, 8:1; <i>wahrām</i> ī <i>amāwand</i> : 7:28; as adj. in the phrase <i>ātaxš</i> ī <i>wahrām</i> : 4:7, 4:31. |
| an | [wn'] n.: "tree": <i>wān-ēw</i> : 1:3; <i>wān</i> ī <i>jud-bēš</i> : "the anti-harm tree, the tree of antidotes": 3:2. |
| y | [AWBDN] adj.: "destroyed, lost": 3:26. |
| or | [wl] n.: "lake": 6:10, 7:2, 7:9, 7:13. |
| ar | [wl] n.: "enclosure": 9:14. |
| an | [wln] n.: "lust, desire": 4:63, 8:2. |
| tan, ward- | [wštn', wlt-] vb.: "to turn, to change": <i>az gōnag wardēd</i> : "will change colour": 6:4; <i>abāz wardēnd</i> : "to turn back": 6:6. |
| g | [wlg] n.: "leaf": 7:16. |
| m | [wlm] n.: "memory"; <i>warm kardan</i> vb.: "to learn by heart, to memorize": <i>warm kard ēstēd</i> : 5:3; <i>warm be kun</i> : 4:67. |
| urs | [wls] n.: "hair(s)": 4:4. |
| zāg | [wlc'k] adj., n.: "ploughing": 4:48. |
| zāwand | [wlc'wnd] adj.: "having (miraculous) power, powerful": 9:7; <i>wahrām</i> ī <i>warzāwand</i> : 7:5, 8:1. |
| zīdan, warz- | [wlcytn', wlc-] vb.: "to practise, to perform": <i>warzēnd</i> : 4:63. |
| zīdār | [wlcyt'l] n. ag.: "practiser": <i>warzīdārān</i> pl.: 8:6. |
| | [KBD] adj.: "many, much": 4:7, 4:28, 4:49, 4:63, 6:4, 7:1, 7:8, 7:10, 7:11; as adv.: 4:63, 6:5; <i>pad was maragih</i> : "numerous, in great number(s)": 6:6. |
| -frazand | [KBD przn] adj.: "endowed with much offspring": 3:18. |
| s-ōz | [KBD 'wc'] adj.: "endowed with much strength, powerful": 7:37. |
| -xwāstag | [KBD hw'stk] adj.: "of much property": 3:15. |
| ar-dādtar | [SLYtl d'ttl] adj.: "of worse law": 4:20. |
| attar-dēn | [SLYtl dyn] adj.: "of worse religion": 4:10. |
| tarīh | [SLYtlyh] n.: "wickedness": 8:6, 9:13. |
| šīdan, waxš- | [whšytn', whš-] vb.: "to burn": <i>waxšēm</i> : 9:19. |
| har | [w'pl] n.: "truth, belief": 4:37. |
| ad | [w't] n.: "wind": 4:42, 4:44, 4:44, 6:4; "Wād, 22nd day of |

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| | the calendar": 7:6. |
| wād-drafs | [w't dlpš] n.: "wind-banner(s)": 7:14. |
| wāng | [KALA, w'ng] n.: "voyce, cry"; <i>wāng kardan</i> vb.: "to cry (out)": <i>wāng kun</i> : 9:5; <i>wāng kunēd</i> : 7:31, 7:32, 7:36, 9:2, 9:5, 9:6; <i>wāng kunēnd</i> : 7:20, 9:21. |
| wārān | [w'l'n] n.: "rain": 4:42; <i>wārān-iz</i> : 4:45. |
| wārīdan, wār- | [w'lytn', w'l-] vb.: "to rain": <i>wārēd</i> : 4:45, 4:45, 4:45, 7:6. |
| wāzīg | [w'cyk] n.: "game": 4:50. |
| weh | [ŠPYL, wyh] adj.: "good, better, best": <i>dox.</i> , 3:2, 3:2, 4:53, 5:11, 5:11, 6:1, 7:20, 7:22; <i>wehān</i> pl.: 4:40. |
| weh | [wyh] p. n.: "river Weh": 7:7, 7:39. |
| weh-dēn | [ŠPYL dyn', wyh dyn'] n.: "good religion": <i>dox.</i> , 3:2, 4:53, 5:5, 9:4, 9:7; <i>weh-dēnān</i> pl.: "Behdins, those of the good religion": 4:61. |
| | [ŠPYL-yh] n.: "goodness": 3:25. |
| wehūh | [wyh mynšnyh] n.: "good intention": 4:32. |
| weh-menišnīh | [wyh zywsntl] adj. compar.: "of better life" 5:7. |
| weh-zīyīšntar | [wyn'pt'k] adj.: "visible": 3:27. |
| wēnābdāg | [wys] adj., adv.: "more": 4:21, 4:39, 4:45, 5:11, 6:4, 7:32 |
| wēš | [wys zywsntl] adj. compar.: "of longer life": 5:7. |
| wēš-zīyīšntar | [wt'htn', wt'c-] vb.: "to melt": <i>widāxt</i> part.: "molten": 3:25. |
| widāxtan, widāz- | [wn's] n.: "sin(s)": 4:40, 4:40, 4:40, 9:16, 9:16, 9:16. |
| wināh | [wn'sytn', wn's-] vb.: "to spoil, to destroy": <i>wināhēnd</i> : 4:7. |
| wināhīdan, wināh- | [wyl'stn', wyl'd-] vb.: "to cultivate": <i>wirāyēnd</i> : 4:25, 6:2; |
| wirāstan, wirāy- | <i>abāz wirāstan</i> : "to rearrange, to restore": <i>abāz wirāy</i> : 7:36; <i>abāz wirāyēd</i> : 8:1; <i>abāz wirāyēnd</i> : 6:1, 7:17. |
| | [wyl'st'l] n. ag.: "restorer": 3:25, 7:19, 7:20, 8:6. |
| wirāstār | [wlyk] n.: "flight": 1:8, 3:23. |
| wirēg | [wstltn', wstl-] vb.: "to spread"; <i>frāz wistardan</i> : "to spread forth (the barsom)": <i>frāz wistarēd</i> : 4:30; <i>frāz wistarēnd</i> : 7:24, 7:37. |
| wistardan, wistar- | [wst'hm] p. n.: "Wistaxm": 8:1. |
| wistaxm | [SLYTWN-t'n] vb.: "to open": <i>abāz wišāyēd</i> : 4:57. |
| wiśādan, wiśāy- | [wš't dwb'šnyh] n.: "going about without the sacred girdle, going about open i.e. without kustīg or šabīg": 4:34. |
| wiśād-dwārišnīh | [wš'tsp] p. n.: "Wištāsp": 1:8, 3:23, 3:23, 5:2, 5:3, 5:4, 6:9; |
| wištāsp | <i>wištāspān</i> : "patronymic of Pišōtan/Čihrōmēhan": 3:2, 7:19, |

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| <i>wišūdag</i> | 7:20, 7:26, 9:9, 9:11. [wšwtk] n.: "abortion, daevic creature": <i>wišūdagān</i> pl.: 3:23, 7:35. |
| <i>wišūdan</i> | [wšwt'n] vb.: "to bear daevic offspring, to be born (daevic)": <i>wišūd</i> : 4:5. |
| <i>wiyābānīh</i> | [wy'p'nyh] n.: "deception": 4:25. |
| <i>wiyōz-</i> | [wydwc-] vb.: "to loosen": <i>wiyōzēd</i> : 9:15; <i>be (...) wiyōzē</i> : 9:14; <i>be wiyōzēd</i> : 9:15, 9:16. |
| <i>wiyufsišnīg</i> | [wdwpsšn'yk] adj.: "merry": 4:50. |
| <i>wizārdan, wizār-</i> | [wc'lt'n, wc'l-] vb.: "to separate, to part": <i>wizārd</i> part.: 4:4. |
| <i>wizārd-wars</i> | [wc'lt wls] adj.: "with parted bairs, parted hair": 1:11, 3:29, 4:3, 4:10, 4:26, 6:1, 6:6, 7:2, 7:32. |
| <i>wizārīšn</i> | [wc'lsn'] vbl. n.: "redemption": 4:67. |
| <i>wizurd</i> | [wcwlt] adj.: "genuine, authentic": 4:37, 8:1. |
| <i>wōrūbaršt</i> | [w'wklwblšt] p. n.: "Wōrūbaršt": 9:5. |
| <i>wōrūjaršt</i> | [w'wklwclšt] p. n.: "Wōrūjaršt": 9:5. |
| <i>wurrōyistan, wurrōy-</i> | [HYMNN-t'n] vb.: "to believe": <i>wurrōyēd</i> : 4:31, 4:31; <i>wurrōyēnd</i> : 3:2, 3:2, 4:51, 4:53; <i>be wurrōyēnd</i> : 9:7. |
| <i>wuzurg</i> | [wcwlg] adj.: "great, big": 4:8, 4:8, 4:8, 4:13, 4:25, 6:7, 7:26; as n.: "Grandee": 4:54; <i>wuzurgān</i> pl.: "Grandees": 4:35, 4:36. |
| <i>wuzurgīh</i> | [wcwlgīh] n.: "the status of being a Grandee": 4:7, 4:36. |

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| <i>xadur</i> | [htwl] p. n.: "Xadur, Xazar": 4:58. |
| <i>xānīg</i> | [h'nyk] n.: "spring": 4:61; <i>xānīgān</i> pl.: 4:46. |
| <i>xēšm</i> | [hyšm] p. n.: "Xēšm, Wrath": 4:25, 4:26, 7:18, 7:26, 7:34, 8:2. |
| <i>xēšm-kāmagīh</i> | [hyšm k'mkyh] n.: "the will of Xēšm": 4:61. |
| <i>xēšm-tōhmag</i> | [hyšm twhm] adj.: "of the seed of Xēšm": 1:11, 3:29, 4:3, 4:5, 4:26, 6:1, 7:2; <i>xēšm-tōhmagān</i> pl.: 6:3, 6:6, 6:10, 7:11, 7:18. |
| <i>xēšm-wišūd</i> | [hyšm wšwt] adj.: "of the stock of Xēšm": 6:9. |
| <i>xad</i> | [hlt] n.: "wisdom": 1:2, 3:5, 3:6, 3:7, 3:11. |
| <i>rafstar</i> | [hlpstl] n.: "xrafstar, noxious creature": 4:45. |
| <i>xuftan, xufs-</i> | [HLMWN-t'n] vb.: "to sleep": <i>xuft ēstam</i> : 3:13. |
| <i>xurduš</i> | [hlwdlpš, hldlwš] adj.: "of the bloody club": 4:26, 7:18, 7:26, |

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xwadāyīh

xwadāy-dušmenīh
xwamn
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xwardan, xwār-

xwarm
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xwaš
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xwēš

xwurdag

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[hwp] adj.: "good": 8:6.
[hwt'y] n.: "Lord": 1:5, 8:6, 9:17; "lord, sovereign": 7:6.
[hwt'(y)yb] n.: "reign, rule" 1:9, 1:10, 3:23, 3:24, 3:25, 3:26, 3:27, 3:28, 5:2, 5:3, 5:4, 6:8; "sovereignty": 4:58, 7:8, 7:20, 7:32, 7:36, 8:6, 8:7.
[hwt'y dšmnyh] n.: "enmity to the lord": 9:10.
[hmn] n.: "dream, sleep": 1:4, 3:12, 3:12, 3:13, 3:14.
[KLYTWN-t'n] vb.: "to call": *xwānēd*: 7:5; *xwānēnd*: 7:10, 7:24; "to study, to recite": *be xwān*: 4:67.
[hwnyls] p. n.: "Xwanirah": 9:5.
[hwl's'n] p. n.: "Xwarāsān": 4:4, 7:2, 7:9.
[hwl's'nyk] adj.: "Xwarāsānian, of Xwarāsān": 7:14.
[OŠTEN-t'n] vb.: "to eat, to consume, to drink": *frāz xwar*: 3:6; *frāz xward*: 3:7; *xwardan*: 4:24; *sōgand xwardan*: "to swear an oath": *sōgand (...) xwarēnd*: 4:38.
[hwl'm] n.: "sleep": 1:5.
[GDE] n.: "xwarrah, glory, splendour": 7:19, 7:20, 7:28, 8:6, 9:9.
[GDE'wmnd] adj.: "glorious": *dox.*, 7:24.
[hwlšyt] n.: "sun": 4:16, 6:4; "Sun, personified as Xwaršēd i Arwandāsp": 9:2, 9:3, 9:5, 9:6, 9:7.
[hwlslw] n.: "father-in-law": 4:15.
[BSYM] adj.: "pleasant, sweet": 3:12, 3:13, 3:14.
[KLYTWNšn] part. of necessity: "calling": 5:1.
[KLYTWNyh-t'n] vb.: "to be called": *xwānīhēd*: 3:24.
[hwlwm] n.: "flavour": 4:19.
[hw'stk] n.: "property, wealth": 4:33, 4:61, 4:62, 4:62, 6:11.
[hw'stk dyn'] adj.: "of the religion of wealth": 4:41.
[BOYHWN-t'n; hw'stn'] vb.: "to seek, to want, to desire, to wish, to covet, to yearn for, to ask": *xwāst*: 1:1, 2:3, 3:1; *xwāhēd*: 4:68, 4:68, 9:13; *xwāhēnd*: 4:13, 4:39, 4:49, 4:54, 7:15; *ō peš xwāst*: "he summoned": 2:2.
[hwytwkds] n.: "kin-marriage, xwēdōdah": 5:1, 5:5.
[NPŠE] adj.: "own": 3:13, 4:42, 4:45, 4:53, 4:54, 4:54, 4:67, 6:10, 8:4, 8:7, 9:8; pron.: "himself": 6:11.
[hwltk] adj., n.: "small, plebeian": 4:4, 4:36; *xwurdagān*:

4:35, 4:36, 4:37, 4:54.

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| <i>sn</i> | [ysn'] n.: "Yasna, Yašt, worship": 2:1, 2:1, 2:1, 3:1, 7:22, 7:24; <i>yasnihā</i> pl.: 2:3. |
| <i>yašt</i> | [yšt'] n.: "Yašt, worship": 4:51, 5:4; <i>yašt kardan</i> vb.: "to perform worship, to celebrate": 4:32, 5:3. |
| <i>štan, yaz-</i> | [YDBHWN-tn'; yc-, yz-] vb.: "to celebrate": <i>yazam</i> : 5:11; <i>yazēd</i> : 5:2; <i>yazēnd</i> : 5:1, 7:21, 7:24, 7:37; <i>frāz yaz</i> : 7:19, 7:19; <i>frāz yazēd</i> : 4:30; <i>frāz yazēnd</i> : 7:22. |
| <i>št-wāž</i> | [yšt w'c] n.: "reciter of the Yašt": 5:4. |
| <i>zad</i> | [yždt'] n.: "yazad, Zoroastrian divine entity": <i>yazad Nēryōsang</i> : 7:19, 7:20, 9:20, 9:21; <i>yazadān</i> [yžd'n] pl.: 2:1, 4:51, 7:27, col. |
| <i>zišn</i> | [ycšn] vbl. n.: "worship, religious rite, Yasna ceremony": 4:31, 4:40, 4:51, 5:11, 5:11, 7:24, 7:37. |
| <i>yōn</i> | [ywn] adj., n.: "Greek": <i>yōnān</i> pl.: 6:5, 6:5. |

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| <i>zadan, zad-</i> | [MHYTN-tn'; zn-] vb.: "to strike, to smite": <i>zad bawād</i> : 8:6, 8:6; <i>zad (bawād)</i> : 8:6; <i>zad bawānd</i> : 8:6; <i>zanēd</i> : 9:16, 9:22; <i>zanēnd</i> : 9:10, 9:10, 9:12; <i>be zan</i> : 7:36; <i>be zanēd</i> : 7:34, 7:37, 9:11; <i>be zanēnd</i> : 6:1, 7:30. |
| <i>zmān</i> | [ODNA, zm'n] n.: "time": 3:13, 4:42, 7:16 |
| <i>zmetān</i> | [zmst'n] n.: "winter": 7:16. |
| <i>zamiš</i> | [zmyk] n.: "earth": 3:9, 3:10, 3:23, 4:17, 4:57, 4:62, 4:64. |
| <i>zan</i> | [NYŠE] n.: "woman, wife": 6:11, 7:15; <i>zan-ēw</i> : 7:6; <i>zanūn</i> [znyn] pl.: 4:36; <i>zanān</i> [NYŠE'n] pl.: 7:5. |
| <i>zand</i> | [znd] n.: "Zand, commentary, explanation, the Pahlavi commentaries on the scriptures": 2:1, 2:3, 3:1, 4:67. |
| <i>zang</i> | [zng] n.: "ankle, shank": <i>dō zang</i> : "two-legged": 7:11. |
| <i>zanišn</i> | [znšn] vbl. n.: "smiting, violence": 4:7, 5:9. |
| <i>zanūh</i> | [NYŠEyh] n.: "marriage"; <i>pad zanūh gīrēnd</i> : "will marry": 4:35. |
| <i>zarduxšt</i> | [zltwhšt] p. n.: "Zarduxšt, Zoroaster": 1:1, 1:2, 1:5, 1:6, 1:11, |

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| <i>zarr</i> | 3:1, 3:2, 3:3, 3:4, 3:5, 3:6, 3:6, 3:7, 3:8, 3:9, 3:11, 3:12, 3:14, 3:15, 3:20, 3:29, 3:29, 4:1, 4:2, 4:5, 4:9, 4:13, 4:16, 4:26, 4:41, 4:49, 4:65, 4:67, 4:68, 5:1, 5:2, 5:6, 5:8, 5:10, 6:1, 6:3, 6:4, 6:7, 6:9, 6:10, 6:10, 6:12, 6:13, 7:1, 7:2, 7:3, 7:7, 7:16, 7:18, 8:8, 9:8; <i>zarduxštān</i> : "of Zarduxšt" 6:13, 8:8; "patronymic of Ušēdar": 7:2, 9:5, 9:6. |
| <i>zarrēn</i> | [ZHBA] n.: "gold": 4:57. |
| <i>zādan, zāy-</i> | [ZHBAyn'] adj.: "of gold, golden": 1:3, 1:8, 3:19, 3:23. |
| | [YLYDWN-tn'] vb.: "to be born": <i>zāyēd</i> : 7:2, 7:4, 7:5, 7:6, 7:6; <i>zāyēnd</i> : 4:20, 4:47, 4:47; <i>be zāyēd</i> : 9:1. |
| <i>zēn</i> | [zyn'] n.: "armour, arm": 4:4, 6:3, 7:7. |
| <i>zēnāwand</i> | [zyn'wnd] adj.: "alert": 7:8. |
| <i>zēnhār</i> | [zynh'l] n.: "sanctuary": 4:7, 4:11. |
| <i>zēnīg</i> | [zynyk] adj.: "armed, armoured": <i>zēnīgān</i> pl.: 7:10. |
| <i>zīndag</i> | [zywndk] adj.: "alive, living": 9:14; <i>zīndag abāz kun</i> : "bring back to life": 9:18. |
| <i>zīndagīh</i> | [zywndkyh] n.: "life": 4:49. |
| <i>zīstan, zīy-</i> | [zywstn', zyw-] vb.: "to live": <i>zīyēnd</i> : 6:2, 6:12. |
| <i>zīyīšnūh</i> | [zywšnyh] n.: "life": 6:2. |
| <i>zofāyatom</i> | [zwp'dtwm] adj. superl.: "deepest": 7:26. |
| <i>zofr</i> | [zwpl] adj.: "deep": 6:10. |
| <i>zōhr</i> | [zwhl] n.: "offering": 5:3, 7:21. |
| <i>zōr</i> | [z(')wl] n.: "strength": 9:16. |
| <i>zrēh</i> | [zlyh] n.: "lake": 7:2. |
| <i>zūr</i> | [zwl] adj., n.: "false, falseness": 4:38. |
| <i>zūr-gugāyīh</i> | [zwlgwkdyyh] n.: "false testimony": 4:38. |

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